

THE LIFE AND WORK OF ALEXANDER KNOX

(1757 - 1831)

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P R E F A C E.

The object of this thesis is an attempt to present a Life of Alexander Knox, and to give a resumé and analysis of his theological teaching. Knox was a close and intimate friend of John Wesley, who exercised a profound influence upon him during the formative period of his life. Religiously and theologically, he owed much to his old teacher. To what extent was he indebted to Wesley ? Did he carry his teaching a stage further ? What was distinctive in his teaching ? These are some of the questions to which an answer is attempted in this thesis. The last chapter is devoted to his relation to the Tractarian Movement.

Knox is a connecting link between the two Oxford Movements, viz:- the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century, and the Anglican Renaissance of the nineteenth century. Whilst the latter was, in the main, a revival of institutionalism, and, therefore apparently quite different from the former, yet there are fundamental points of agreement between them. They both emphasise the need for devotion, and the thirst for holiness. I do not set out to prove the extent to which the one influenced the other through Knox. The last chapter makes

II.

no claim to be an exhaustive study. This subject is large enough for a separate piece of work. I have limited my scope mainly to a presentation and analysis of Knox's theology and to showing his indebtedness to John Wesley.

Hitherto no Memoir of Knox has been published. This omission does not seem to have been due to the want of a demand for such a knowledge by those who had met him, or of a desire to supply it by his more intimate friends. It was rather due to the lack of available material which would enable a writer to present to the public an interesting Life. The Rev. James J. Hornby, who edited the 'Remains' of Knox (four volumes), gives this as his reason for not undertaking the task.¹ The fact that he lived the greater part of his life as a recluse, fully accounts for the lack of any detailed information about him. The materials for a Life are therefore scanty. The main sources are, "Thirty Years' Correspondence between John Jebb and Alexander Knox", (two volumes);² his 'Remains', particularly Volume IV., which was "designed, in some measure, to supply the want of a biographical Memoir"³; and Articles in Periodicals.

Knox was one of the most original theologians of his age, and yet his name is scarcely known to-day, and his influence is almost unrecognised. Not many years after his

1. Remains of Knox, Vol.III, Preface p.X., published by Duncan.
The references hereafter given are to the first edition.
2. Edited by Charles Forster, B.D., published by Duncan, London.
1834.
3. Remains, Vol.III. Preface X.

III.

death, he was falling into oblivion, as the following anecdote illustrates. When the Rev. Robert Knox, who became Archbishop of Armagh, was nominated by the Whig Government to the Bishopric of Down and Connor, Lord John Russell is said to have asked an Irish Nobleman of Liberal Politics, "Well, what do you think of your new Bishop ?", "Oh", replied the Peer, "we dont know much of him yet, he has not had time to make his mark". "Make his mark", replied the statesman, "Why, is he not the celebrated Mr. Knox?". And for the first time he was astonished to learn that the celebrated Mr. Knox had been a layman all his life, and had been dead for nearly twenty years. There were at least three factors which contributed to this, otherwise inexplicable obscurity. (1) He occupied a middle position between the Evangelicals and High Churchmen of his day, with the result that both were suspicious of him. To put the matter in his own words: "You can easily conceive, that, when any one stands on a middle point, between two others, who are, with respect to him, strictly equidistant, he must, from the inevitable laws of perspective, appear to both, not to be in the middle, but comparatively near the opposite party".¹ He was too much of a High Churchman to be the hero of the Evangelicals, and too much of an Evangelical to be the idol of High Churchmen. (2) He had no platform to bring him before the public eye, and from which to proclaim his ideas. He was not a clergyman, and his indifferent health incapacitated him

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.I.
p. 16.

IV.

for any sustained literary effort. His sphere of influence was therefore limited. He expressed his views in conversation, and in the form of private letters to friends,- letters which often grew into small dissertations. The main channel, however, through which his ideas flowed into the Church of England was the Rev. John Jebb, afterwards the Bishop of Limerick. Knox was content to remain in obscurity, whilst he set others in motion. (3) He was over-shadowed by the Tractarian Movement which arose so soon after his death, and which absorbed the attention of the religious public in England. Though Knox was the precursor of the Movement, he was allowed to fall into oblivion by a generation that found itself listening to Newman, Keble and Pusey.

Knox had clearly anticipated the leading principles of Tractarianism, and undoubtedly deserves a place of honour in the development of English theology. There is, therefore, need to lift him out of the darkness of obscurity into the light of day.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Preface	I - IV.
<u>PART I : THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER KNOX.</u>	1 - 71.
Chapter 1 : Birth and Early Life	pp. 1-13
2 : Public Life and Political Writings	pp.14-24
3 : Conversion and Pursuit of Holiness	pp.24-34
4 : Teacher and Founder of a School of Thought	pp.34-50
5 : Advocate of Religious Tolerance	pp.50-55
6 : Characteristics	pp.55-60
7 : Proposed Reunion of the Established and Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland	pp.60-66
8 : Last Years	pp.66-71
<u>PART II : THE TEACHING OF ALEXANDER KNOX</u>	72 - 233.
Chapter 9 : Evangelicalism	pp.72-93
Section i : Conversion	pp.72-81
ii : Justification	pp.81-93
Chapter 10 : Christian Perfection	pp.94-130
Section i : Elements in his Doctrine	pp.96-101
ii : Agreement and Disagreement with John Wesley	pp102-118
iii : Means and Methods of Attaining Perfection	pp118-130

VI.

Chapter 11 : The Sacraments pp.131-182

Section i : Baptism pp.133-139

ii : The Eucharist pp.139-182

iii : Analysis of his Doctrine
of the Sacraments pp.153-182

Chapter 12 : The Church pp.183-232

Section i : A Statement of his Doctrine pp.186-204

ii : An Estimate of his Doctrine pp.205-232

PART III : CONCLUSION233-264.

Chapter 13 : Knox and the Oxford
Movement

Section i : The Relation of the Parties
within the Church of England
to the Oxford Movement pp.236-243

ii : The Elements in common between
Knox and the Oxford Movement pp.243-251

iii : How far were the Tractarians
indebted to Knox ? pp.251-264

BIBLIOGRAPHY265-272.

i : Works of Knox pp.265-266

ii : Authorities Consulted pp.266-271

iii : Periodicals p.272.

P A R T I

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER KNOX.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE.

Alexander Knox was born at Londonderry on 17th., March 1757. As in the case of his namesake, the celebrated Scottish Reformer, some doubt has existed regarding the exact date of his birth. This is not remarkable, having regard to the lack of human interest shown by biographers up to comparatively recent years. George Schoales, a personal friend, writing six years after Knox's death, supplied an inaccurate date. He stated unhesitatingly that it was in 1761.¹ Dean Burgon says that after taking extraordinary pains to ascertain the exact date of his birth, "I have only now learned from one of the family that it was probably in 1757".² James Hempton, in his little booklet published in 1892, gives yet another date. He places it in the year 1758.³ Fortunately Knox himself settles the matter for us. He speaks of himself as "entering upon my sixty-eighth year" in a letter to Miss Fergusson on March 17th., 1825.⁴ This date is corroborated in a letter to Rev. Henry Moore when he refers to John Wesley's first visit to Knox's home in Londonderry, "the circumstances of which are yet alive in my remembrance, though I was but seven years old".⁵

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1. Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, Vol.I. p.96.
 2. Dean Burgon's "Lives of Twelve Good Men", p.372. London 1891.
 3. Andrew Knox, Bishop of Raphoe and His Descendants, p. 25.
 4. Remains, Vol.IV. p. 417.
 5. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1835, p.123. Letter dated November 23rd., 1830.

The Irish riots, with their accompanying destructive fires, have made havoc of the ancient documents, so that it is impossible, with the present available data, to give the exact lineage of Knox. It is however generally assumed that he descended from a very ancient and distinguished **Scottish** family. James Hempton maintains that he was undoubtedly a descendant of Andrew Knox, who was the second reformed Bishop of Raphoe. His Lordship was the second son of Uchter de Knock, Lord of Ranfurly, who is said to have been a cousin of the celebrated John Knox.¹ The Silvyland branch of the Knox family went over to Ireland among the English adventurers, and some of them attained to corporate honours in Dublin. "The oldest branch of the family - Knoxs of County Mayo - also those of Uchter, including the Northland branch, are descended from the same common ancestor".² James Hempton further says that it was stated by a member of the Prehen family that Knox, was a relative, and adds; "without this assurance the engraving of his bust by Chantry would reveal the fact of his relationship, to anyone well acquainted with the Knox features".³ One is naturally suspicious about the reliability of these accounts, because both James Hempton and George Schoales have been found to be inaccurate in their dates, still it is possible and quite

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1. Andrew Knox, Bishop of Raphoe and His Descendants, 1892 .p.25.
Cf. also Life of John Knox by Thomas M'Crie, vol.1, p.2.
 2. Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry. Vol.1, p.96.
 3. Andrew Knox. Bishop of Raphoe and His Descendants, p.27.

likely that both attached great importance to the exact lineage. Further, George Schoales was a personal friend of Knox and most probably heard from his own lips about his relatives and ancestors. The difficulty of tracing his direct line of ancestors is further increased by the fact that his father's name is not mentioned. John Wesley always refers to him as Mr. Knox. It is, however, stated in the Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry¹, that Alexander Knox was Mayor in 1751, and Andrew Knox in 1752. Professor Stokes supplies the valuable conjecture that the former was the father of Alexander Knox. It is impossible at the present stage of our knowledge to get beyond a degree of probability. We value the above accounts, and whilst they only provide second-hand information, we can at least be satisfied that they give a fairly accurate lineage.

John Wesley paid his first visit to Londonderry on Saturday, 11th May 1765, where he first met the father of Alexander Knox. Wesley writes in his Journal for this date: "When we drew near it, a gentleman on horseback stopped, asked me my name and showed me where the preacher stopped. In the afternoon he accommodated me with a convenient lodging at his own house. So one Mr. Knox is taken away, and another given me in his stead".² (The gentleman here referred to as having deserted him was Knox of Sligo.) Mr. Knox of Derry was a professed Methodist prior to Wesley's visit, and to his death remained a strong and steadfast supporter of the Society.

1. Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, Vol. 1. p.88.
 2. Wesley's Journal, Standard edition, Vol. V. p.115.

The circumstances of his becoming a member of the Society are given by Rev. Henry Moore ¹. In 1764 a remarkable incident took place in Dublin, which had an effect on the work of the Methodists as far north as Londonderry. A soldier named Weir, under the influence of alcohol, committed murder and was condemned to death. He was visited in gaol by Mr John Johnson. The poor man was gloriously converted, and on the scaffold, bore a public testimony to the saving power of Divine Grace. The newspapers reported the incident fully, and a profound impression was made. Copies of the report reached Londonderry, and one of them found its way to the hands of Mrs Knox. She read it with intense interest and gave it to her husband saying, "Here is a religion that will make you and me happy: read it and praise God, who has shown us the way of peace". He read it, Believed and was converted.

This account is corroborated by their own son Alexander, who in a letter to Crookshank², says "your account of the manner in which she (Mother) was first drawn towards the Methodists, and at the same time drew my father, is perfectly correct. You exactly state the fact, as you had it from herself"

Mr. Knox was evidently a man of some standing and influence in Derry. This may be inferred from the fact that on Sunday 12th, May 1765, he took Wesley to the Cathedral, and led

1. The Life of Henry Moore including the autobiography; by Mrs. Richard Smith. p. 50.
 2. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine of 1835. p. 122.

him to the Corporation pew, where he was placed next to the Mayor, Mr. William Kennedy. Wesley's comment on this is characteristic of him, "What have I to do with honour ?, Lord, let me always fear not desire it"¹. Mr. Knox was a member of the Corporation and was "perhaps the most respected of the whole body, on account of his ability and admirable character"². His son Alexander says that the circumstances of Mr. Wesley being placed next to the Mayor at Church arose simply from the fact that "my father took him to the Corporation pew, and from the politeness of the gentlemen already there"³. Wesley, as a result of this acquaintanceship, was asked and accepted an invitation to dinner at the Mayor's house. Mr. Knox suffered socially for his connection with Methodism, though it could not, of course, divest him of his influence in the town. "He was despised, but there was a grace and suavity in his manner, which made it impossible for others to withhold their respect, though inwardly they may despise him"⁴.

Mr. Knox was quite evidently a man of strong character, profound convictions, and blessed with an evenness of temper that kept him undisturbed in the face of polite persecution. Spiritually and socially he was isolated from his old friends and companions while publicly and in business he moved in and out amongst them. His son's testimony is worthy of

1. Wesley's Journal Standard edition. Vol.V, p.115.

2. Life of Rev.H.Moore including autobiography, by Mrs.R.Smith.p.51
(Moore visited Derry in Aug.1779, therefore never met Mr.Knox.)

3. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1835. p.123.

4. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1835. p.124.

quotation in full: "My father had an equability of temper which preserved him from those fluctuations of the animal spirits that are so often a hindrance, if not to the substance, at least to the comfort of a religious life. Accordingly from the time of his becoming acquainted with inward religion (for which he considered himself as providentially indebted to his acquaintance with the Methodists) he proceeded onward with little, if any, deviation, until he had become ripe for a better world..... before his last illness he was a bright example of everything that was amiable and excellent".¹ This is a glowing testimony of what he was by nature and by grace. It was no wonder that John Wesley was fond of him and his family, and held him in high esteem. Alexander says that he once asked Wesley, whether when he first "knew my father, he supposed he would afterwards desert him, as a Mr. Knox of Sligo had done". "No", said he, "there was an integrity in your father's whole manner, which made one reckon upon his stability".²

Rev. C.H.Crookshanks supplies the conjecture that he died suddenly, or at least unexpectedly, as he died intestate. His death took place when Alexander was but twelve years old, but Alexander says in one of his letters that he believed he had derived greater advantage from his father's prayers in paradise than if he had lived to guide his youth.³ If however Mr. Knox received little, if any, encouragement and help from his companions, he was blessed with an excellent wife. We have

1. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1835, p. 122.

2. Ibid. p. 122

3. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 418.

noticed that she placed the "tract" into his hands. Mrs. Knox in her youth had heard Mr. Thomas Williams, the Methodist preacher, whose preaching made a deep impression upon her, and prepared her heart and mind for a full surrender in later years. She did not, however, at the time join the Methodist Society. She and her husband were at first sincerely attached to the Established Church, yet, having had taste of vital religion, she was ever drawing her husband in the same direction. Her son Alexander says: "My father, under Providence, owed his first religious impressions to my mother, who even before their marriage was ever endeavouring to lead him to what was good".¹ She was a devout Christian lady and her evangelical experience deepened her devotion, and brightened her religion. As a result of reading the tract, she and her husband became constant worshippers with the Methodists, and soon after joined the Society at the room hired for the preaching in "that day of small things".

The curiosity excited in the city, by Mr. and Mrs. Knox becoming Methodists, led to a large increase in the attendance, among whom were some of the higher class, that a Chapel became necessary, and was soon afterwards erected.² As Mr. Knox was indebted to his wife for his first religious impressions, so was she the means of awakening in Alexander, her son, those devotional feelings which in some degree, as he says "actuated me when you first knew me and when at a later

1. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1835, p.122.

2. Life of Rev. Henry Moore, including autobiography, p. 52.

season of life , after years of deviation, were I trust, by the mercy of God, irradically deepened in my heart".¹ Alexander also says in another letter that it was to his mother, and not to John Wesley, he owed his first steps in religion. Mrs.Knox proved an excellent partner to her husband, and a devoted mother to her children. Alexander says she possessed more than common discernment of characters, and she neither felt nor did anything by halves. She used discrimination in the choice of friends, and the people who visited her mansion, her criterion being integrity of character. She was a person, like her husband of peculiarly upright mind. She survived her husband between twenty and twenty three years, and to the end maintained her connection with the Methodist Society.

The house of these pious people became the home of Methodist Preachers at Derry. Wesley always stayed with them from the time of his first visit to Derry. There developed a very warm friendship between them, as is clearly revealed in Wesley's letters to their son, Alexander, who as we shall see later, owed much to Wesley, and could claim a close and intimate friendship with "the grand old man". All Methodist Preachers were equally made welcome in this home,² and as a change of Preachers took place every three months at this time, several of them made contact with the Knoxs , who had the means as well

1. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1835, p.122

2. Life of Rev. Henry Moore. p. 49.

as the desire to help. These gentlemen received no small advantage by their association with the Knox family, who not only supplied their physical needs, but also Alexander proved of great assistance to them, as he was always studious, possessed a keen intellect, and a fine taste.

Methodism was warmly received in the Nothern City, and for a time seemed to have flourished, until a false step was taken by one of the preachers, and the Society found it difficult 'to live it down'. The sunshine was of short duration. The conversion of Mr. and Mrs. Knox helped to restore some of the former prosperity, but there were "not many mighty, not many noble" among them, and apart from the Knoxs, the only other person of social standing, who had any sympathy with their religious views was Mr. Fairly, a brother of Mrs. Knox. This gentleman, however, lacked stability and strength of character, and whilst he manifested much zeal and adhered to the Methodists during Mr. Knox's life, he broke away after his death. When the prop upon which he leaned was removed, he fell. Mr. Knox's death was a serious loss to the Society, in many ways, as he was a most generous giver, and the most influential among its members. Mrs. Knox remained faithful to the Methodists to the end, proved an invaluable friend, while her son Alexander was of great assistance to the preachers. Wesley says of Londonderry, "it is a place I always loved".¹

1. Remains, Vol. IV, p.7.

Alexander is said to have been the second of four children. His brother George manifested in his youth considerable talents, but died too young to have opportunity of developing them. His eldest sister, whose name is not mentioned, married William Ross of Derry, by whom there was one daughter. She married T. Lecky and died without issue. His second sister Sarah, married J. Stirling of Walworth, in the county of Londonderry, and sometime Mayor. She also died without issue.¹ Sarah suffered indifferent health throughout her life. She alone of the children is mentioned by Wesley and Knox in their letters.² It seems that all four children were afflicted with delicate health. Alexander was an invalid from the cradle, and so continued to the end of his life, but more especially for the first thirty years of his life. It is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of his trouble, but Wesley was of the opinion that it was due to a deep scurvy. It certainly showed some of the symptoms of this painful and weakening disease. In his earlier years he was the victim of almost continual depression of spirits, and to a lesser degree to the end of his life, he had fits of depression. His debility was a great handicap to him. It prevented him from enjoying the benefits of a public school, or any other regular course of education. It isolated him from other boys and girls. This insulated upbringing explains some of his eccentricities in later life.

1. Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, Vol. I. p. 96.
 2. Remains, Vol. III, p. 478.

It accounted for his **repugnance** to society; his tendency to unhealthy introspection, and like John Henry Newman, to write bitter things against himself. Wesley judiciously strove to correct these faults. He advises him not to think of his sins, but to think only of the mercies of God in Christ. Alexander overcame the disadvantage of not having the benefits of a regular course of education. It was Mark Davis, a Methodist Preacher, who gave him his first lessons in Latin.¹ Apart from occasional help of this kind he laboured alone and acquired to an amazing degree an extensive knowledge of ancient classics, and modern languages. His literary acquirements were the result, not of scholastic training, but of solitary and domestic study. This method of study forced upon him, whilst it necessarily impeded his early progress, threw him back on his own resources. It compelled him to search for himself, to think for himself, and to arrive at his own conclusions. It undoubtedly strengthened his critical faculties, and contributed in no small degree to his originality of thought. While others were brought up and trained in a particular school of thought, Alexander learnt to study the various schools, and eventually to begin a school of thought himself. Baron Von Hügel is another and more modern example of one who triumphed over the disadvantages of not attending a school or University, and with his natural abilities there was, perhaps "a more free and

1. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1835, p.123.

individualised flowering of his intellectual and emotional faculties".¹

Wesley saw in his debility the wisdom and goodness of Divine Providence to keep him humble, amidst the advantages of a luxurious home, and the possession of mental abilities above the average. He says "if you had had firm and constant health, I do not see how you could have been saved: you would have been so admired, caressed and applauded by your well-meaning relations, and perhaps by others, that it would have been next to impossible for you to have escaped the depth of pride and the heights of vanity".² He, therefore, regarded his suffering as the very best school in which Infinite Wisdom could place him. We may disagree with Wesley that disease of any kind comes from God, but we do know that these things, unpleasant and painful as they may be, can be used for noble purposes. In Alexander's case as we shall see, it did serve then and later to direct the course of his life. Wesley gives him sound common-sense advice with the briskness of style characteristic of him. He tells him not to "coop himself up", that he must take physical exercise every day and plenty of fresh air. He says that his mother must not hinder him, or she will kill him with kindness, "and I am not sure it will not cost her the life of another child".³ He urges him not to absent himself from Church worship, or the preaching house from fear of attacks of his complaint during the service. (Alexander had taken a fit in public and

1. Selected letters of Baron von Hügel 1896 - 1924, edited with Memoir by Bernard Holland, p.4.

2. Remains, Vol. IV. pp. 12-13, dated July 31st, 1779.

3. Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 20.

was thereafter afraid of going out). Wesley was convinced that Alexander's depression of spirits was due to his bodily disorder. These letters of Wesley to 'Aleck', as he was fond of calling him, manifest a marked degree of intimacy and true friendship. He had a deep affection for the young man, and the longer he knew him the more he loved him. He evidently perceived Aleck's capabilities, and did much to guide him in the way he should go. He stressed the value of daily reading the Bible and of prayer. Wesley was undoubtedly the most potent influence upon him in youth, and although he cast off the minute control of Wesley soon after the old man's death, yet his influence never completely left him, and when he had abandoned politics, and returned to a life more akin to his nature, the old impressions returned with new force. Alexander, however, credits his mother with giving him the first religious impressions and doubtless she exercised a profound and lasting influence upon his life. It is possible that having lost her child George, she became even more devoted to Aleck and his sisters, bestowing upon them her maternal care and protection to a degree that was at times harmful to them. Nevertheless, according to her light, she did not spare herself to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. His sickness which made him more dependent upon his mother as well as upon the guidance and comfort of Wesley, opened the door to influences of a far reaching character. He acknowledges the advantage he thus enjoyed from having a Methodist father and mother.¹

1. Remains, Vol. IV.pp. 417 & 143.

CHAPTER 2.
-----PUBLIC LIFE AND POLITICAL WRITINGS.

There was a distinct improvement in Alexander's health when he reached the age of 23. He then began to move in circles outside his home life, and soon made the acquaintance of, and formed friendships with, the leading men of Derry. He interested himself in all the events, civil and political, which involved the interests of his native city, and there was none in which he did not take an active and efficient part. It was at this time that he cast off early religious impressions. With the advent of better health, he lessened his hold on religion. He says that at this period he was sorely tempted again and again to withdraw from his early practice of private prayer, and enter more and more into worldly affairs. Several circumstances concurred to lead him in this way. The happy release from the prison of sickness and complete dependence upon his mother, made him feel a sense of independence. This new-found liberty led him to seize opportunities of service. He also had no training for any vocation, and looking back on this period, he declared that this misfortune was the greatest of curses. With an active mind, which was best when employed, he made use of his newly-found sphere of service. Furthermore he

was very ambitious, and the realisation of his mental superiority over many of his associates, naturally led him to seek power. He had talents for public speaking and he indulged them with much pride and vanity at public meetings. The agitators for Parliamentary Reform in Northern Ireland drew him and cultivated him, and as he admits, he caught at the bait and became a politician.¹ Thus he was drawn to the political arena.

Derry soon became too limited a sphere for such a man as Knox. He went to Dublin and took up residence at 65, Dawson Street. He soon became the centre of a large and enlightened circle of friends. He was elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy on the 16th, March, 1795.² Most of its members were University men, professors and distinguished graduates, and only exceptionally able non-graduates were allowed admission. They met weekly, and in turn read essays before their fellow members. The fact that Knox was elected a member of this Academy as early as 1795, is an eloquent testimony to his abilities, having regard to the disadvantages he had suffered in early life, and the fact of his continued physical weakness. He could not rise before 9.A.M., if he was not to be jaded all morning, and with morbid melancholy many hours were wasted. It made him unmethodical in his work, and being his own master it was the easiest thing in the world to

1. Remains, Vol.IV, p.57.

2. Records of the Royal Irish Academy.

yield to his weakness. Instead of that he laboured to equip his mind, so that he was able to occupy an honourable position among the citizens of the Metropolis.

The violence and convulsions of the French Revolution stirred up feeling in Ireland, and led to troublesome times in Irish politics. The Society of United Irishmen was formed in Belfast, a Society originally aiming at Parliamentary Reform. Its programme was to create a House of Commons, which should represent the whole people of Ireland, so that an effort might be made to remove all religious distinctions from political union. Knox joined the United Ireland Party to which also belonged Lord Castlereagh. The leaders soon made separation from England their object, and not a few of them looked to France for support. These revolutionary ideas were repugnant to Knox who was a constitutional Whig. He therefore left the party, and for a time openly joined their opponents.¹ His changed views are reflected in his essays on "The Political Circumstances of Ireland". These essays were republished in 1799 with an Appendix containing, "Thoughts on the Will of the People and a Postscript". They are a vigorous polemic against the revolutionary motives and principles of the United Irishmen Movement. This Society under the leadership of Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald had endeavoured with some measure of success, to unite the religions of Ireland in arms against England, but "the actual effect of their reliance on French aid

1. Contemporary Review, August 1887. Article by Prof. Stokes.

was to set Protestant and Catholic to kill each other in the old spirit of the Williamite wars".¹ Knox's first literary effort was meant to calm the troubles. He justified the British Government for refusing to concede to the claims of the Irish Catholics for political privileges. Whilst he was in favour of Catholic Emancipation, he vigorously opposed their methods. He maintained that what is granted by methods of reason is different from yielding to force. He appealed to landowners to pull their weight on the side of law and order, and give their support to the loyal Yeomanry.² He warned the United Irishmen against a delusion that a French invasion would bring about a Constitution according to their wishes, and appealed to them "to cease folly, and not conspire against their own true interests".³ He strongly objected to the extension of the Franchise, and repudiated the idea that it constituted a reform.⁴ He upheld the existing system of Oligarchy, claimed that only the few were capable of considering the public good, of governing by reason, judgment and conscience, and he made a strong appeal to the fear of the French Revolutionaries.

Lord Castlereagh had discovered and appreciated Knox's character and abilities, and a close and lasting friendship was formed. When Castlereagh took over the Office of Chief Secretary of Ireland, Knox became his Lordship's private and confidential secretary. He was a warm advocate of

1. History of England, G.M.Trevelyan, p.590.

2. Political Essays on the Circumstances of Ireland, Knox, p.101.

3. Ibid. p.123.

4. Ibid. p.128.

legislative union with Great Britain, and gave powerful assistance in effecting that measure. He entered on his duties at the Castle on the very night the rebellion broke out in 1798.¹

This was the first time that Knox was not his own master, and he found much happiness in his new position. He was proud of his post. It gave him something to do, and a position of influence during a most important period in Irish politics. His letters reveal the integrity of his character and the sincerity of his purpose. He did not take on the work from any sordid motive, being convinced that he was serving the highest interest of his country. He saw the inner working of things and it gave him access to information which otherwise he could not have gained. The life of a courtier even for a short period was a valuable experience to him, and he himself said "the recollection will not be useless, nor unpleasant". It gave him new ideas, and stimulated stronger habits of thinking. He did not in after years feel any remorse for having taken this position, at the same time there are hints in his letters that the intrigue and other unscrupulous means of attaining union was repulsive to him, and that he saw in the work a danger of losing his hold on religion. That alone gave him cause for some regret. Looking back on this period in 1800 he says: "During that summer I think I passed the most comfortable time I ever had experienced "²

Knox was a firm believer in the union of Ireland

1. Andrew Knox, Bishop of Raphoe and His Descendants, by James Hempton. p.25.
 2. Remains, Vol.IV. p.59.

with Great Britain. He was convinced of the advantages of being part of a Great Empire, and wholeheartedly gave his powerful assistance to support the measure. He wrote pamphlets and letters in its favour but his pure and honest mind must have revolted against the way in which union was accomplished.

His political career terminated with the close of the rebellion. He had rendered yeoman service in the capacity of private secretary to his lordship, who was not wanting in his appreciation, as is revealed by the fact that he tried to persuade him to remain in politics. He suggested that he should represent Derry in the Imperial Parliament, but Knox declined the offer. He was not cut out to be a statesman, and if John Morley was right when he said: "The successful statesman is usually a man with first rate abilities and second rate opinions" Knox would never have proved a success in that sphere. There was not any doubt about his ability, both on the platform and with his pen, but his ideas were far too speculative, and his character far too refined for the rough and tumble life of a politician. It would be idle to speculate as to what heights of success he might have attained had he continued in public life. He held an important position in Irish Politics during one of the most difficult periods in Irish History, and at a time when Ireland could boast of great and illustrious men. He acquitted himself with distinction among these great leaders, and showed promise of a successful political career. He was, however, sick of politics, and was greatly relieved when the opportunity came to

tear himself away. The whole political arena was to him an unhealthy atmosphere.

Several have been surprised that a highminded man like Knox should ever have been drawn to Lord Castlereagh. William Wilberforce who knew them both said: "He is the very last man I should have conceived to have gravitated to Lord Castlereagh".¹ Irish people have not regarded his lordship as an honourable statesman. They have criticised and condemned his method of pushing forward the Bill for union with Great Britain. They have hated him for being "so unlike an Irishman", and have been disgusted by the money price paid for the measure, which is said to have amounted to a million and a half, and that levied on Ireland itself for the purchase of its own political extinction.² But it seems that Castlereagh was not devoid of good moral qualities. He had a certain rectitude of personal character that old political foes, like Grattan and Plunket, bore him no resentment in after life.³ It is interesting to find that Knox had a high estimation of his Chief, and was gratified at being singled out "as the confidential friend of the honestest and perhaps the ablest statesman that has been in Ireland for a century. I know of him "he says "what the world does not, and cannot know, and what, if it did know, it most probably would not believe it. His letters to England on the critically important business of this country, passed through my

1. Life of William Wilberforce by his Sons, Vol.III,p417.
London,1838.

2. History of Ireland by Eleanor Hull, Vol.II,p.286.

3. Ibid. Vol.II,p.289.

hand frequently, and I am strongly inclined to think that to them we gratefully owe the promptitude of England to assist us. Humane he is and good natured beyond the usual standard of men. In him it is not merely a habit or a natural quality, but it is a moral duty. And yet, when firm decision is requisite he can well exert it. What is best of all he is in reality what, perhaps, secretary Craggs was only in the encomiastic verse of Pope, 'Statesman, yet friend to truth'. His public conduct has gained him the approbation of all good and moderate men..... there is no bloodshed for which he does not grieve, and yet he has no tendency to injudicious mercy."¹

It is very refreshing to read the above eulogy to his lordship by one who knew him, and had the opportunity of detecting his motives behind his actions. Even allowing for some exaggeration, it is powerful evidence that there was another side to the character of this statesman other than the one popularly held. The good opinion which Knox had of Castlereagh is shared by the most recent historians. Algernon Cecil describes him as a wise, disinterested and generous minded statesman; a promoter of peace, whose policy was intended to bring social order and freedom to the masses of the people. Whilst he acknowledges that Castlereagh's methods of carrying through the Union between Great Britain and Ireland were unworthy of his large and noble nature, yet he holds that his motive and aim can be justified. The problem in Ireland

1. Remains, Vol.IV, pp.31-33.

was to combine the distracted and contending forces. Castlereagh "saw the problem clearly and rested his solution of it upon two considerations - the impossibility of refusing to the Catholics parliamentary representation, and the imprudence of giving it to them in such a way as to give them also a majority. Only the project of a union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland met both these points".¹ Prof. Clement Webster's analysis of his policy reveals a similar point of view.² It is also interesting to find that Donn Byrne in his novel entitled "The Power of the Dog", makes out that Castlereagh, the hero, tried to make the best of a bad job. Thus after a century of calumny and misrepresentation, Castlereagh fares well.

Knox accused politicians in France of secret evil doings in Ireland. He severely criticises Pitt's Foreign Policy and declared in 1797 that the "great foible in the English character is its passion for war".³ He disapproved of the funding system, which made war possible without the people realising the full expense of the "bloody game". At the same time he justified the use of military force in certain circumstances, and in fact wrote a Tract⁴, on the subject in 1803, in which he claims to base his doctrine on New Testament teaching. He tries to harmonise our Lord's command of non-resistance with the Pauline doctrine of divine ordinance of governments in Romans XIII. The Tract is a plausible defence of the loyalist attitude to the war against Bonaparte. It is a plea in support of a war of defence against

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1. British Foreign Secretaries, 1807-1916, Algernon Cecil, p.10.
 2. Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, Prof. Clement Webster mentioned by Algernon Cecil, cf. British Foreign Secretaries, p.50.
 3. Remains, Vol. IV. p.26.
 4. The Doctrine of the New Testament respecting Military Duty.

ruthless aggression, rather than a defence of war in general. He had not, therefore, changed his belief since 1797, and his views were consistent with his political philosophy. He believed with Wesley that secular rulers were invested with power from on high.¹ And having once accepted this premise it inevitably led to the conclusion that war is justifiable in certain circumstances. In Home Affairs he adopted the same attitude towards revolts, and yet he was sympathetic with the oppressed. He advocated religious toleration and Catholic Emancipation. He had quite evidently inherited the best spirit of the eighteenth century toleration, but his fears of French revolutionary ideas, led him to advocate severe measures against uprisings.

The opportunity for withdrawal from politics came with his breakdown in health with its accompanying melancholy, which he regarded as a divine warning to retire. He was afraid of losing his soul, and doubtless he was influenced by Wesley's dictum of "No Politics".² He had suffered misgivings for some time before his actual retirement, but his ill-health brought the matter to a head, and sufficiently suggested to him, "that the only safe and happy politics are those of St. Paul's, *ἡμῶν γάρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάεκε* .(Phil.III.v.20)³. He acknowledged that this was not applicable to all. There were some like William Wilberforce, of whom he said in 1795, "In public, I think he is a paragon of honesty",⁴ and yet in after years he rejoiced to learn that Wilberforce had withdrawn from

1. After Wesley, Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, p.16.

2. Methodism and Politics, E.R.Taylor, p.63.

3. Remains, Vol.IV. p.34.

4. Ibid. Vol.IV. p.22.

the bustle of political life.¹ To him politics were dangerous to one's soul. He was no mean politician, but his claim to fame does not rest on his political views, but upon his religious teaching. Politics were a passing fancy, but religion became the chief business of his life.

CHAPTER 3.

CONVERSION AND PURSUIT OF HOLINESS.

Knox passed through a spiritual revolution in the year 1797. His conversion did not lead to a change of opinions for, as he said, whilst his conduct varied much from the time he was eighteen years of age till he was thirty-nine, yet his principles remained the same.² He had from his childhood lived a clean moral life. He had never been guilty of any gross sin. The impression made upon him by his mother, and also by John Wesley had never been clearly effaced. But on his own confession the love of God was not his master passion. He had been drawn into the world and for a time found in it his chief interest. The circumstances of his religious conversion are related by himself in his diary. He suffered a very sharp affliction in 1797, - a nervous attack accompanied by sleepless-

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 488.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 166.

ness. He was at the time staying at the house of Adam Schoales, whose brother George became a close friend of Knox. Medical treatment proved of no avail and gradually his complaint grew worse. Then he says in his diary, "I fell into black despair;... It led me to pray; but I found no relief for some days. I then, in my distress, went to the Methodist preacher; my pains having so far brought down my pride. His conversation brought me the first ease. I then began to pray with some hope: and I remember well, that, being still sleepless, I spent a whole night in reading and praying; and thought, when the morning came, that it could not have been so comfortable if I had spent the night sleeping."¹ The complaint subsided, but his seriousness of mind remained.

A temporary recovery in health enabled him to continue in public life, and for the next two years he devoted his time and attention to politics. Then in 1799, as it has been stated, he had a recurrence of the disease, and suffered badly from insomnia, which gave him his opportunity to disentangle himself from politics. He needed a change of air and scenery, and in July of 1799, he visited England accompanied by his Derry friend George Schoales. He passed through Chester and Northwich to Matlock, enjoying new scenery and fresh companionship, which had a beneficial effect upon his health. He complained, however, that he was still suffering from melancholia, and expressed his doubts as to whether

1. Remains, Vol.IV, pp.57-58.

the cause was physical or spiritual. No doubt his alternated heights of ecstasy, and depths of despair, were partly due to his disease; intensified by his Irish temperament, and partly to the fact that he was subject at this time to religious anxieties. In his diary for 16th November 1799, he writes "A serious sense of religion would remove all my uneasiness at once, but of this I seem to myself to grow, every day almost every hour less and less susceptible".¹ He even entertained doubts about the reality of his conversion, and whilst religion had been much in his mind for the past two years he says, "I have always had the consciousness of an unchanged heart".² He endeavoured through private prayer and reading to find satisfaction. He found Burnet's Life of Hale,³ and Doddridge's Life of Colonel Gardiner of some assistance at this time. It seems fairly clear that his despair at times in religious matters, was due to the state of his health from which he suffered to a lesser degree to the end of his life. There is no doubt about the genuineness of his conversion in 1797. It was the turning point in his life which led to a diminishing desire for worldly ambitions, and an increasing quest for a satisfying religion. These doubts had their beneficial effects, for they stimulated a sustained effort to make religion his dominant desire in life. Doubts and temptations

1. Remains, Vol.IV. p.41.

2. Ibid. Vol.IV. p.41.

3. Knox edited the Lives by Burnet, which passed through a second edition, and Bishop Jebb republished the work in London, 1833.

frequently follow great religious experiences. It might have brought him much comfort had he remembered that even our Lord after His baptism was driven into the wilderness to be tempted.

His reading threw much light on his religious state. It showed him that there could be value in affliction. He found, for example, in Richard Baxter's Account of his own life, that he had been brought to realise the presence of the spiritual world through a severe illness at about the age of twenty-one. Affliction with Knox served to wean his heart from affection for this world till he feared health and prosperity more than death and judgement. He formed many lasting friendships during this visit to England, mainly amongst the Evangelicals. Their fellowship was a refuge and solace to him. It also strengthened his hold upon spiritual realities. The Rev. Thomas Steadman of Shrewsbury, whom he met in November afforded him helpful conversations. Steadman was a publisher, and proved a useful friend to Knox afterwards. In December we find him down at Bristol, where he met the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke¹, a fellow-countryman and a Methodist preacher. Knox describes him as "wonderfully versed in Biblical learning, and appearing neither deficient nor superficial upon any subject on which we conversed". The only fault he found in him was that he was "a new fashioned Methodist", by which he probably meant that Dr. Adam Clarke was inclined to the view of separation from the Church Establishment.

He made the acquaintance of Mrs Hannah More on

1. Dr. Adam Clarke was the most tolerant and broadminded, as he certainly was the most learned, of all the younger Methodist contemporaries of Wesley.

19th, February, 1800. He was much impressed by her, and speaks of her "pleasant manner, and interesting conversation: she is lively, fluent, easy, cheerful and entirely unassuming and unaffected. I have never seen a superior woman". Their meeting developed into a warm friendship. Both held similar views about religion. Mrs. Hannah More having left the stage, devoted her time and talents to the furtherance of personal religion and philanthropic work, especially the education of children, which was so characteristic of the Evangelical Party. In this work, she received much encouragement from William Wilberforce. Knox remained at Hotwells, Bath, to the end of July, and spent many of his evenings at the house of Mrs. More. He met there several influential people, who sought fellowship with him. He complains that he received here more invitations than he could accept. He evidently enjoyed the society of these people, and actually expresses the desire to remain in England, and pay annual visits to Dublin. He discerned in this idea an additional advantage of helping to keep him free from re-entering politics, for he dreaded the thought of returning to Dublin, lest his old friends might persuade him to take up his old duties. He was now beginning to enjoy the quiet life of retirement, and shrank from the thought of a political career, though there were times when it attracted him. He was even thankful to God for his continued ill health, were that to deepen his devotion to a life of holiness. Throughout this period his chief concern is the possession of the religion of

the heart. A prayer written in September of this year reflects his state of mind, and that his deep and dominant desire was for holiness.¹

He visited London in October, where he wrote a defence of Richard Baxter, and also of Mrs. Hannah More against the attacks of the Rev. Chas. Daubeny of Bath. The latter was sent to the Rev. Thos. Steadman, who inserted it in the form of an appendix to his edition of Sir James Stonehouse's Letters.

He returned to Dublin early in 1801, where he was warmly received by his old friends, and to his delight found that their regard for him did not depend upon his political situation. In December of this year he said that, "As to politics I have done thinking about them". When the measure for union of Ireland with Great Britain had passed through both Houses, and received the Royal signature, he ceased to take any further part in political events. He was afterwards asked by Castlereagh to write a history of the Union, but he declined. He was no longer interested in those matters, for if any one could have persuaded him to undertake this task, it would have been his old chief. As may be judged from the following extract from his letter to Castlereagh in February 1801; "If there be any kind of matter in which you could make use of me there (Dublin) I need not tell you how readily I should be to do my utmost in executing your command²."

Henceforth, he devoted himself to the study of religion and the pursuit of the life of holiness. He resided with Miss Fergusson at 65, Dawson St., Dublin. She was an

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 78.

2. Memories and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Vol. IV. p. 30.

intelligent, devout and motherly lady, who sympathised with his religious ideas; could enter into conversation with him on these matters; cared for him tenderly and nursed him during sickness. Hence, like the poet Cowper, whom he is said to have resembled, he had a devoted friend. She accompanied him on several of his visits to friends, and John Jebb always made provision for her hospitality whenever Knox paid him visits. Knox says of her "the good Miss Fergusson is more to me than my family could have been, even my niece herself".¹

He had a faithful and devoted servant in Michael McFeely whom Knox had employed when a young man. He read to him when his eyesight failed and remained with him till his death. Knox was equally as fond of his valet as he was of his landlady, as is demonstrated by his concern for him during an illness in England. Michael caught a severe cold which settled on his lungs and although Knox had intended returning to Dublin, he altered his plans, and on medical advice took him to Bath. In his correspondence at the time he says that should Bath fail to effect a cure, he would take him to Lisbon. He could not have shown greater kindness and consideration to a brother.

There is no doubt that Knox's affection for those attending to him was strengthened by the fact that he had no intercourse with any blood relations. As he himself pathetically puts it, "Not a blood connexion that, as such, cares a straw about me, except my poor old aunt".² James Hempton says that he had heard from a member of the Prehen family, that "owing to his

1. Remains, Vol.IV. p.129.

2. Ibid. Vol.IV. p.130.

differing in politics from the then head of the family much intercourse had not been kept up with him".¹ He became fond of his quiet retirement. The life of a bachelor, without even "the name of a house", which he could call his own appealed strongly to him. It freed him from the temptation of inviting guests to a home, and whilst he acknowledges that his friends might think him cool, he would rather be misunderstood, and have this quiet mode of life.

He was by no means a wealthy man. The property he had inherited would have been insufficient to keep him above anxiety, had it not been for the fact that he was rewarded for his devoted and valuable services to Lord Castlereagh. He was naturally reticent about these matters, and only once have I noticed any reference to it. This is mentioned in a letter to his lordship, in which he says, "If I can bear my state of health with tranquillity, you my lord are the chief earthly cause..... You have been the instrument of providence to give to one person at least substantial comfort, as far as this world can furnish. I have a pretty little property, but it came to me so burdened, and I was more and more embarrassed, that I might shudder to think, what my state by this time would have been, were it not that the danger is over".² This reference probably alludes to a Government pension, though it does not appear among those on the civil list. It is quite probable that he was paid from Pitt's secret service fund.

He had suffered bad health in the summer of 1802,

1. Andrew Knox, Bishop of Raphoe and His Descendants.p.26.

2. Memories and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Vol.IV.p 219.

when he found that writing was a burden to him. We find him at this time making a sustained effort to recover his health. He was rising at 7.15.A.M., and riding on horseback for exercise. He crossed over to England in August of this year in search of better health, having found the previous visit so beneficial. He paid his first visit to Liverpool, where he found Methodism abounding, and again met Dr.Adam Clarke whom he accompanied to Manchester. He returned to Dublin in September having improved in health. This second visit to England with its renewed fellowship with old friends, marks the beginning of a brighter day in his life. We find after this, a change in the tone of his letters concerning his own health and happiness. Knox had for sometime realised that the pursuit of holiness would greatly improve even his bodily health. This would bring peace of mind and heart, and in its turn soothe his fretted nerves and help the condition of his health. His fellowship with Christians of different branches of the Church, had revealed to him that sincere religion may appear under a variety of forms, and if it be sincere, "it will, some way or other tranquillise the mind and sweeten the temper". He had compared notes with a gentleman who was substantially a Methodist, probably Dr.Adam Clarke, and found they were in agreement.¹ The deepened sense of religion had its effects upon his spirit, the clouds of depression were slowly dispelling, and the light and warmth of the sunshine was becoming his experience more and more. In November he says: "I , in some respect, see my calling; being convinced that a deeper sense of evangelic religion would 'stablish, strengthen, and

1. Remains, Vol.IV. p.108.

settle me'". This actually happened in the year 1803, when for the first time we find him speaking of good health and happiness. Writing to George Schoales on 12th, August he says: "I enjoy wonderful health, both of body and mind: so that often I think myself even already richly indemnified for those sufferings, without which, probably, I could not, in the nature of things, have had the kind of tranquillity which I now enjoy....I sometimes fear lest my quiet should not be completely of the Christian kind: but hope, on the whole, outweighs fear.¹

This matter of improved health is confirmed by the Rev. Charles Forster.² The remarkable feature of this case is that John Wesley had foreseen and foretold the course of things, as early as the year 1776. He told Knox in a letter "your illness will continue just so long as is necessary to suppress the fire of youth, to keep you dead to the world, and to prevent your seeking happiness where it never was, nor ever can be found".³ He had now got something, which had not previously been in his possession. Six years had elapsed since his conversion, during which he had striven by the grace of God to seek the soothing and satisfying effects of a sanctified life. He had now found harmony with God, which in its turn brought inward harmony.

He spent the rest of his life in quiet seclusion, broken only by occasional visits to a few friends. He had chosen a studious and devotional life, and had become so fond of it that nothing could drag him away from it. His friend, George Schoales, endeavoured in vain, to persuade him to undertake the

1. Remains, Vol.IV. p. 118.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol.II, p26

3. Remains, Vol.IV. p.1. (footnote)

task of writing about the Caledonian Canal in March, 1804. He was not interested in subjects outside what he had now conceived to be the chief business of his life. He found his greatest happiness in cultivating a life of holiness, and in exercising an influence upon those who came into contact with him.

CHAPTER 4.

TEACHER AND FOUNDER OF A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT.

The house of the La Touche family became a centre, from which he had an opportunity of radiating his influence and of spreading his ideas. The La Touches were Huguenots residing at Bellevue, Wicklow. Knox met them in 1803, and stayed with them in their mansion in September of that year. Their acquaintance soon grew into an affectionate and lasting friendship. This was the first of several visits to Bellevue,

which had many attractions for him. The mansion was comfortable and commodious; situated in a charming spot, whose amenities had been greatly improved by the La Touches, who had much wealth. This family took a keen interest in the life of the people in the neighbourhood, and endeavoured to promote their happiness. Mrs. La Touche is described as "very remarkable for her great exertions, both in the cause of benevolence and the advance of true religion. She exercised a strong influence for good in the parish of Delganny".¹ They were well educated people; deeply religious and with their private chapel, which was much in use, the family altar having a prominent place in the home. These habits were akin to those of Knox, and therefore, he found both people and place most agreeable. It is little wonder that their home became to him a second home. They had a large circle of friends, and as their desire to give hospitality was only equalled by their means, it was the scene of many visitors, especially young clergymen from England and Ireland. Knox found here a congenial atmosphere and friends who listened to him "with great and strange attention on my favourite subject of religion".² It was at their home that the Rev. Robert Daly, curate at Newcastle and afterwards Bishop of Cashel, met Knox. Mrs Hamilton Madden says that Knox met several people here, and exercised a great influence, particularly "upon young persons who were beginning to think seriously, but who had not sufficient knowledge to discern the sweet from the bitter".³

1. Memoir of Rt. Rev. Robert Daly, Mrs Hamilton Madden. p. 33.

2. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 133.

3. Memoir of Rt. Rev. Robert Daly, Mrs Hamilton Madden. p. 33.

These young persons were greatly attracted by him, admired him for his talents, and revered him for his deep personal piety.

Among his pupils the best of them was John Jebb, afterwards Bishop of Limerick. He met Jebb, whilst the latter was a boy at the Derry School who excited Knox's interest by the way he read his Horace. Jebb regarded his removal to Derry as altogether providential, and referring to it in later years, he said: "Derry was a means of introducing me to the notice of A.Knox Esqr., who was fond of hearing me repeat my lessons from the most felicitous of authors, he afterwards became my guide, philosopher and friend. From him, in the course of a long intimacy, I derived principles, which I trust will never die".¹ Several years seem to have elapsed before they again met, when Knox made a proposal, which determined the whole course of Jebb's life. In the spring of 1797, Knox invited him to break - fast, and during the conversation asked, "Mr.Jebb may I ask, what profession you mean to pursue? It is not an impertinent curiosity that leads me to make the enquiry". Mr.Jebb answered "The Church". Knox enquired whether he had any special interest and was told "none". "Why then"asked Knox"do you think of the Church"?, to which Jebb replied "because I prefer it to any other profession". Knox then said"he had some intimacies among bishops, and thought that he could recommend him to one," and on asking, if he had any objection to this, Jebb gratefully

1.Life of John Jebb, by Charles Forster. Vol. I. p.22 (footnote)

accepted the offer".¹ Knox implemented his promise, and in July 1799, was able to inform Jebb that the Curacy of Swanlibar had been offered to him with the usual salary of £50, and on Knox's advice, he accepted the offer.² This was the beginning of a correspondence, which continued till the death of Knox, and which proved "a treasure of Christian wisdom" to Jebb, and for which he acknowledges his unspeakable indebtedness. Jebb pays the following tribute to his correspondence, "How much he (writer) owes to this correspondence,..... how much to the free, familiar, yet paternal converse, of many thousand happy hours,.. how much to the uniform example of this true-hearted Christian philosopher, will not be known, until the secrets of all hearts are disclosed. But thus much he can say, with certainty, that, scarce a day elapses, in which some energetic truth, some pregnant principle, or some happy illustration,..... does not present itself, for which he was primarily indebted, to the ever-salient mind of Alexander Knox."³

The earlier part of this correspondence reflects the mind of a youthful clergyman, inexperienced, yet eager to know his work and to be guided by a master in whom he placed implicit trust. As the correspondence proceeds the pupil advances more and more to an equality with his instructor, but to the end, he retained his unabated confidence in the guidance of his original master. These letters reveal very clearly that

1. Life of John Jebb by Charles Forster, Vol. I. pp 49-50.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. I. p. 2

3. Burnet's Lives, &c., by Dr. Gilbert Burnet with Introduction by John Jebb. p. XXIX. London edition 1833.

the formation of Jebb into a theologian was principally due to the influence of Knox. He sought the advice of his guide before he would change his sphere of work, and the decision was usually left with Knox. He received from him texts and material for sermons, and at first used the very language of his master. He solicited from him guidance in his studies and choice of books. Jebb became one of the foremost Biblical scholars of his day, and it is noteworthy that it was in conversation with Knox in the Bishop's palace at Cashel in 1807, that Jebb's attention was first directed to the parallelism in the New Testament text. He pointed out three or four passages, which in his opinion, were influenced by the Hebrew style of poetry, and urged Jebb to take up the study, to which he agreed, and reduced the Sermon on the Mount to parallelism.

Knox was the human prop upon which Jebb leaned, and he valued the friendship above every other on earth. He was, like Knox a celibate and there were times when, stationed in isolated places, he felt lonely and despondent if no letter had come from his friend. Writing from Abington Glebe in 1810 Jebb says: "more than two months have elapsed, since I was constrained to part from you at Cashel: and during that space not a line of advice, of comfort, or support, from the friend, to whom beyond any inhabitant of this earth, I cling".¹ The cause of the silence was due to a severe illness, such as Knox had not experienced for nine years, and the above

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. II.
p.6.

extract shows Jebb's persistent clinging to Knox's friendship. There are other letters which echo similar sentiments, but one of the most pathetic of Jebb's appeals for a letter was that written in December 1811, which reveals an uneasy state of mind, and whilst he expresses his thanks for past comfort and help, he doubts, and even fears losing the attachment and continued help of his friend. "I have not even shared the crumbs, which fall from your table. This, indeed, may be no more than the inevitable result, partly of extrinsic causes, partly of your mental constitution. If so, to reason on the point were idle: to acquiesce with submission is all that remains. But, prizing your correspondence as I do, I cannot help making a last struggle to retain, or rather to recover, so great a privilege and blessing".¹ Knox assures him that he had been thinking of him daily, and that it was the constant requisition of a visitor that had prevented him from writing. There is only one hint in the correspondence of anything that suggests a change in their affections for each other. It arose over the subject of a Christian's attitude to the world, which touched Knox on a "peculiarly tender point", as he maintained strict discipline over himself, and it seemed to him that Jebb was inclined to a less rigid attitude.² He was mistaken and the old warm friendship was quickly restored.

Knox was gradually developing a school, for thus it must be described, whose pupils were strangely influenced by

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. II

p. 56.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 135.

him, and who hung upon his lips. Its development was inevitably slow and restricted, owing to the method adopted by its teacher, whose constitutional powers were not equal to the sustained mental effort required for writing a great literary or theological work. Hence he contented himself with dispensing his ideas in correspondence, tracts and conversation. He undoubtedly possessed literary powers quite out of the ordinary. There is a certain vigour, richness and loftiness in his style which reveals a powerful mind. He had originality of expression, which enabled him to communicate on paper such a lively description of his own experience, that the reader cannot fail to be influenced. And yet, we are informed by those who were privileged to meet him and to listen to his conversation, that his writings convey a very poor impression of the man and his mind. It was in conversation that he shone most brilliantly. Bishop Jebb felt utterly incompetent to draw a picture of his mind and could only liken it to De Gêrando's description of the mental image of Plato.¹ If we can rely on the estimate of his conversational powers as given by one who knew him, they must have been of the highest order. After saying that he "never enjoyed the pleasure of conversing with one whose ordinary colloquy bore so much of the character of inspiration", he adds "there is a certain pleasing excitement in the exercises of his conversational abilities, which enabled him to continue for hours on the subjects nearest to his heart, and sustained him under continuous efforts of thought by which in the solitude of the study, he would have been exhausted.

1. Burnet's Lives, &c., London 1833. Introduction, p. XXIX.

Beside, there was this peculiarity, that his conversation was immeasurably beyond his composition. Nothing surprised his friends more than the felicity of his language, the happy arrangement of his thought, the exquisite richness and force of the imagery by which they were illustrated and adorned, except the fact that when he came to put the same matter into a written form, the production had all the appearance of a tame translation of himself. In conversation his noble imagination had free play, and as it was always strictly under the influence of an exquisitely cultivated moral sense, it never transgressed its proper province, whereas in writing either the absence of the same degree of excitement, or the presence of a severer and more rigid judgement, or both, prevented that fond glowing expatiation upon the moral generalities, in which he loved to indulge and which indeed, constituted the chief charm of his conversation, so that those who can only know him as a writer know him not half". After alluding to the value of his written word the writer adds: "but it was only when he threw open the splendid saloon of his thoughts, in his hours of conversational enjoyment, that the treasures of his genius could be truly seen, whose solidity and usefulness were combined with richness and beauty, and the whole so illuminated, by lights so appropriate, that vision itself seemed assisted, and purified while everything was exhibited to the most advantage".¹

Jebb paid a high tribute to the force of his

1. Dublin University Magazine for September 1834.

eloquence,¹ and William Wilberforce writing to the Rev. Charles Forster observed "it is now more than two and twenty years since we met, yet the power of his (Knox's) conversation is as fresh in my mind, as if I had been listening to him yesterday."² When contrasted with the powers of another eminent Irishman, Mr. Grattan, the comparison only showed Knox to higher advantage³, It is quite evident from the above tributes, that he possessed rare and exceptional powers of conversation, which at once commanded admiration and led his listeners to forget the speaker in concentration upon the wisdom that oozed out of him. He was not only brilliant among men of high intellect, but also he could express his Christian philosophy with such simplicity that all might understand and appreciate. Mrs. Hemans was introduced to him shortly before his death, and an allusion to the Liturgy excited all his fervour, and as leaving him she remarked, "Dear me, what a divine old man ! when he thus discourses, he ought to be sitting under a palm tree,"⁴

He adequately filled the role of a Christian Socrates, liberally dispensing his thoughts to those who were prepared to listen. He undoubtedly exercised his greatest influence through personal contact. He was the master among his disciples. He speaks of himself whilst staying with Mrs. Hannah More as having talks regularly three times a day, but the grand

1. Burnet's lives, &c., London 1833. Introduction, p. XXXI.

2. Life of John Jebb by Charles Forster, p. 168. Vol. I.

3. Ibid. p. 169. Vol. I.

4. Dublin University Magazine for September 1834.

one extended from tea to supper, "intermixed with select reading, in which I was generally the officiator ".¹ This was his characteristic mode of teaching, as is further evidenced by the fact that when John Singleton, a London artist, persuaded him to take a sitting in 1811, the grouping of the little company at Bellevue gives a true picture of Knox as a Socrates. He himself gives the following description of it in a letter to Jebb. "Sir Thomas Acland would have me in my invalid dress; my green velvet nightcap had taken hold of his heart. I lean on a sofa; have just been speaking: Mr.and Mrs. La Touche are sitting, one on each hand, deeply, but most tranquilly, and indeed cheerfully, thinking of what they had heard. Mr.D.--- leans in an attentive attitude, over the back of a chair. Miss B-- stands beside her aunt; and P--, the gardener, waits behind. It is the moment in which discourse has paused, but excited attention is not yet relaxed. I hold a book in my hand;"² He resolved that this book should be Butler's Analogy in order to indicate that it was a religious conversation.

Knox possessed uncommon personal charm. We are greatly indebted to Mr.Parkyn, a barrister, and at one time, editor of the Eclectic Review, for an interesting description of him. He says that he dined with him in the house of Mr.Joseph Butterworth, M.P. on the 5th, September, 1809, and then gives the following description: "his person is that of a man of genius. He is rather below the middle size; his head not large;

1. Remains, Vol.IV.p.173.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.II.p.47

his face rather long, rather narrow, and more rectangular than oval; his features interesting, rather than pleasing; his forehead high, but not wide; his eye quick, his eye-brow elevated; his nose aquiline; his under lip protruded; his muscles very full of motion; his complexion pale, apparently from ill health, but susceptible of a fine glow, when the subject of conversation became animating. His expression of face not unlike Cowper's. He is small-limbed, and thin. He wears spectacles, which very much become him. When highly interested, his countenance is full of action, his eye piercing, his cheek suffused, his gestures profuse and energetic, his whole form in motion, and ready to start from his seat. His manner of expression is natural and easy,.... his voice is clear and pleasant, with a very little of the Irish tone".¹ This was the first occasion on which Parkyn met Knox, and in this short interview, he made such an impression upon him, that the very details of the man are represented. Alluding to this description, Jebb says that: "in person, in mind, in manners, and in principles, he embodied the very image, of this eminent, and remarkable man; and a more perfect, and graphical description I never saw".² A comparison of the above representation with his photograph, clearly reveals that the description is a correct one, and, when we add to this, the fact that Parkyn did not hold the same views as Knox, and further

1. Burnet's Lives, &c., Introduction, p. XXXIII - XXXIV. London 1833.
 2. Ibid. p. XXXIII.

that his only object in putting it on paper was for a memoranda, and not for publication, it can with safety be accepted.

Knox was above all, a devout and saintly man, and even those who profoundly disagreed with his views, could not fail to recognise his sincere piety, and to be deeply impressed by it. The Rt, Rev. Robert Daly once said of him to Archbishop Whateley, "I sat long at the feet of the same Gamaliel..... I loved that uncommon character as a friend, I admired him for his talents, and I honoured him for his deep tone of personal piety, but I feel very thankful that I was delivered from the erroneous doctrine of his school".¹ William Wilberforce pays a similar tribute to his great piety. ² The note of personal piety is heard very distinctly in his writings. He was quite evidently a man who "walked with God", and on his pilgrimage fed his soul on the works of the Saints. He possessed a retentive memory for any passage that happened to strike him, and could recall it, without difficulty in conversation. His vivid imagination, though sometimes fanciful, together with the warmth of his affections, supplied heat and light to his eloquence, that inevitably made an indelible impression upon others. He was truly a man of God.

It was natural with this method of teaching that

1. Memoir of Rt. Rev. Robert Daly, by Mrs Hamilton Madden.p.34.
2. Life of William Wilberforce by his Sons, Vol.III,p.417.

his disciples should be limited in number, but they were the elite, and even among them, he would only cultivate relationship with those who prized personal religion above theological arguments and ecclesiastical disputes. He used his discrimination in the choice of pupils and friends. The one requisite he did insist upon was heart religion, and whenever this was vitally and visibly present, he could tolerate many differences, and could cherish strong hopes of growth in their Christian experience. He did not expect his visitors to swallow all his opinions, and whilst he had a profound conviction of the rightness of his own views, he was humble enough to respect those of different views. He had, for example, a strong antipathy to Calvinistic doctrine, but he numbered among his associates those of that school. He wrote the following words to Mrs. Hannah More in 1804: "I had the satisfaction beyond any other ...of spending three days with a truly pious clergyman, whose deep and zealous sense of inward religion is accompanied with such a charming candour, as produced substantial harmony between him and me; though we have been taught in different schools; he being of the Calvinistic class, and I (as I take it) of no class at all; generic Christianity being, to the best of my knowledge, my object and study".¹ He exercised similar Christian charitableness with Roman Catholics, though he clearly recognised the gulf that separated them from himself. He visited Dr. Everard, President of Maynooth, and says of him: "so much cordially pious talk, I never heard from a Roman Catholic priest before. I hope and

1. Remains, Vol. IV, p.163.

believe he is a good man".¹ He maintained this attitude to the end of his earthly days, and even mentions in a letter, dated April 30th., 1828, that Michael, his servant, had learned a theology that made him think differently from his master, yet he respected him because "of his sense of religion, his views of the Christian graces and the interior life, and his deep love of God and of that purity of heart which alone can enjoy God".² He was a convinced High Churchman, but he discriminated between vitalized Christianity and its material externalization. He never allowed the latter to interfere with his relationship with those who possessed genuine inward religion.

He emphasised the necessity of making religion the chief business of one's life until it sanctified the whole, and brought harmony and happiness, peace and power within. He had diligently cultivated the Christian graces till he realised for himself the great fact that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is the power of God unto Salvation. It is no exaggeration to say that he regarded the possession of this divine power as the hallmark of genuine Christianity. He had experienced this in his own life, for at one time, he confessed to have been the very "shuttlecock of circumstances", thrown almost into a fever by any difficulty, even change of place, but with the growth of Christian life, his thoughts and feelings had become generally calm and quiet in company. He was by nature of a nervous and timid disposition, but he found the triumphant life, after which he was specially solicitous that others should possess it, and in whomsoever he

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol. II. p. 32.
 2. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 496.

saw it, he was happy in their company, be they of any branch of the Christian Church. He expressed this view whilst staying for a few weeks as the guest of Mrs. Hannah More in 1804, who entertained many visitors. Writing about his visit to his friend George Schoales, he observes: "Hannah More and I are substantially of the same school; that is, we both make it our object to pass through the form of godliness to the power thereof. They who agree with us in this, - be they Calvinists or Remonstrants, Presbyterians, Independents, or even Anabaptists, - may have intercourse with us, useful and pleasant to us and to them!"¹

The power of religion constituted the nucleus of his creed, and the fact that he was subject to occasional lapses in health, strengthened his hold upon that which had been his chief anchor in the storms of life. He had a severe illness in the year 1812, when it seemed that he might not survive, and under those circumstances, it was brought home to him afresh that the strength of religion, and not merely the reality of it is needed. He maintained that the latter is good enough in health and easy circumstances, but "when calamity impends, the defence must be in proportion to the blast, and the resource, to the exigence". Whilst he admits that God uses different methods with different persons, he adds "for my part, I can conceive nothing adequate to the case, but an established and consciously vital habit of intercourse with God; not only as he is the Eternal Spirit, but as he is united to our nature in the adorable person of the Messiah". To this view he says: "I have never been disposed to add any doctrine, except such as are essentially

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 174.

implied in itself: such as the Trinity in Unity, the strict Deity of Christ, and the Divine operation of the Spirit of God upon the mind and heart".¹

He maintained that such a religion led to a renunciation of the world. He was himself by temperament and training a recluse. He loved his little private sanctuary and was always glad to return to it after an excursion among friends. He expressed a sense of relief on his return from England in November 1804, and whilst he cordially acknowledges having greatly enjoyed the company of friends, he feared lest in society he might lose ground. It was always after much persuasion that he could be prevailed upon to accept the invitation of friends, even of John Jebb, to become their guest with the one exception of the La Touches, and in this case it had the great advantage of proximity to Dublin. The state of his health naturally made him averse to travelling long distances which necessitated staying nights at Inns. He spent most winters at Dawson Street, Dublin, and when he did yield to the pressure of his friends to leave home, he usually made the journey in the summer. He stayed with his friend, the Archbishop of Cashel in 1805 and on a few other occasions, but outside the La Touche family, Jebb received most visits. The pupil was always anxious that every new vicarage which he occupied should receive the blessing of his master. Knox could not endure much trifling talk on trivial subjects, and in a letter to William Wilberforce, he hints that the society at the La Touches during a visit in

1. Remains, Vol. IV. pp. 258-260.

April 1807 was uncongenial to his taste, for he speaks of "much nonsense and unconnected chit-chat talk in company as the grave of conversation".

CHAPTER 5.

ADVOCATE OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

Knox was a sincere and strong advocate of religious tolerance. He resembled the Cambridge Platonists in his endeavour to remove injustice done to any religious body. If he had rejected a political career, he sought, by means of private conversation and correspondence, to do what William Wilberforce and others were striving to perform in Parliament. He was mainly instrumental in changing the views of Wilberforce on the question of Catholic Emancipation. In reply to an inquiry from him on this subject, Knox informs Castlereagh that he had stated : "until the Roman Catholics are equalled with the Protestants, disaffection in Ireland must be the popular temper".¹ He argued that since Union there would be no possible danger in

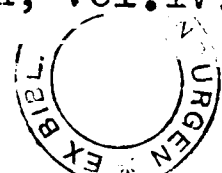
1. Memories and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Vol.IV p. 31., dated 9th, Feb.1801.

increasing the political privileges to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, because of the preponderance of a Protestant Empire.

He opposed the Test Law in England, and described it as "the very feculence and dregs of obsolete house-of-Stuart policy, and that it is it, which makes Dissenters disloyal, far more than it guards against disloyalty": He attacked the spirit prevalent among English Bishops, who, as a result of the progress of Methodism, were alarmed about the safety of the Established Church. He assured Lord Castlereagh, that there was no doubt about the loyalty of the Methodists to the Government as long as it dealt fairly with them, and added that they were more capable of serving the Government in the country than if they were members of the Establishment. He deprecated the plan of the Bishop of Lincoln to make illegal the itinerancy of Methodist preachers, and predicted that if adopted, it would set the whole body of Methodists absolutely mad.¹

The High Church party were at this period alarmed at the growing strength of the Methodists, and saw in it and similar movements an attack on their citadel. They had watched with fear and trembling, the progress of the French Revolution and the humiliation of the Papal power, and events abroad had made them nervous about things at home. Knox maintained that the Established Church did not meet the wants of the people, that their preaching, however rational, was cold and inanimate, whilst that of the Methodists, with all their imperfections, was life

1. Memories and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Vol. IV. p.56. dated 19th., February, 1801.



and power. He pointed out that the remedy lay, not by penal laws and railing at sectaries from pulpit and press, but rather by vying with them in earnest and affectionate addresses from pulpit.

He again took up the cudgels in defence of the Methodists in July 1803, when he protested against a law, which had been enacted by the legislators of Jamaica to prevent Methodist preachers preaching to the negroes. This Bill had been transmitted to Great Britain for the King's approval, and Knox asks Castlereagh to inquire into the matter. He asserts that "a more unchristian, flagitious measure, never was thought of under a free Government",¹ and considers it directly in the teeth of the British Toleration Act. He points out the political importance of the Methodists in England and Ireland as well as the danger of injuring them, and emphasises the value of having this section of the community on the side of the Government, because (1) on any real emergency their religious temper would make them the steadiest and the most undaunted, considered as a body, of any of the classes of society; and (2) if public danger increased, the persons, he speaks of, would have an increase influence on others round about them; that the sense of danger always increases religious sentiment, and as this extends, they who are accounted more religious than their neighbours, would be proportionately more esteemed. It is obvious from the above that in 1803 the Methodists held a position of influence in the land, because of their quality and numbers. He gives the number of British and Irish Methodists including Evangelicals within the Church of England as a million. It is pretty certain that such arguments would necessarily weigh with the politician. He assures his lordship

1. Memories & Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Vol. IV. 289.

that he is not speaking merely for sects, because the class to which he refers contains all the orthodox sects, and many more, indeed "all who are remarkably devout in the Establishment as well as out of it, whether lay or clerical".¹ He suggests that Castlereagh should discuss the matter with Wilberforce.

Similarly Knox defends the cause of Irish Presbyterians, who were making a claim for Government benefit. He maintains that, whilst they had always been Nonconformists, they could never be justly regarded as Dissenters. He reviews the circumstances of their origin, and declares that they are there by Royal introduction in order to "civilise, strengthen, and secure a most important part of the domestic Empire". They must, therefore, be allowed to have peculiar claims upon the State, not merely for full toleration, but for a reasonable degree of countenance and protection. He informs Castlereagh that until the advent of Presbyterians to the North of Ireland, there were no Protestant bishops, and that the colonization by Presbyterians made room for extension of the Episcopal Church bishops. These prelates, with the exception of one, were Scotsmen, who allowed much liberty, so that when the Colonists were in the great majority, they actually enjoyed the tithes. Their ministers were not as yet in orders, and had an objection to the bishops, but the latter sought to persuade them to accept ordination, and when they stated their objection, the Scottish prelates of Down and Raphoe² said, "that shall not hinder, you may deny that we are bishops, if you please; but you cannot refuse to receive us as presbyters,

1. Memories & Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Vol. IV. 292.
 2. Latter was Andrew Knox, ancestor of Andrew Knox of Prehen.

and, therefore, you must admit our joining as co-presbyters with the other brethren in laying hands on you". He further maintains that these circumstances were forgotten except by Presbyterians, so that in 1690, an attempt was made by the Bishop of Derry, to coerce Presbyterians to join the Episcopal Community, and when they refused, the Presbyterians were excluded from all places of trust by the imposition of the Sacramental Test in 1703. He holds that it is not extraordinary that the claims of the Irish Presbyterians were wholly overlooked when their common privileges as citizens were thus cruelly wrested from them, and adds: "I should imagine, as flagrant a violation of honour, justice and truth, as ever occurred in political history".¹

Thus Knox used his friendship with Lord Castlereagh, William Wilberforce, and others in position of authority, to set forth the cause of religious communities. And the variety of the bodies to whom he gave his valuable support shows that he was not prompted by any narrow sectarian prejudice, but rather by the principle of religious toleration and public justice. Whilst, as we shall see, he had definite views about the Church, and never feared to express his favour of the Church of England, he never allowed this to influence him against toleration. Throughout his life, he repudiated the spirit of coercion and compulsion, and depended upon persuasion and conviction. He had a strong sense of justice and fair play, and there is no doubt that he served the cause of religion, even from the point of view of legislation, much more effectively in this way than he would

1. Memories and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Vol.IV.
p. 260.

have done had he adopted a political career. He was acquainted with the history and problems of the different branches of the Church, and was able to present their case and supply information to those who were in a position to use it to advantage.

CHAPTER 6.

CHARACTERISTICS.

Knox was a generous soul. He displayed a magnanimity of character and a generosity of heart that were in keeping with his saintly and pious life. There are several instances to illustrate this characteristic, but two or three will suffice. He revealed his magnanimity when he sincerely apologised to Rev. Henry Moore, with whom he had crossed swords in 1794, over the Trustees disputes in the Broad Mead Methodist Chapel, Bristol. This was the first chapel built by John Wesley, and during his life time, he had absolute power, but after his death, the right devolved upon the trustees. As soon as these gentlemen became aware that their minister, Rev. Henry Moore, was holding the view that the Holy Sacrament should be administered

by the Methodist preachers in the chapels, where the people desired it, they resisted his preaching in that Chapel. Soon after these events, the subject of these disputes began to agitate the public mind, and the High Church party took the side of the Trustees. Pamphlets were written, and much bitterness was aroused. Knox wrote one pamphlet against the views of Rev. Henry Moore, to which the latter replied. Some time afterwards, when Knox was in London, both met on the street. When Knox shook hands with him, he said with much feeling, "I have to ask your pardon, and to make my apology to you for having written against you". To this Moore promptly replied, "as we mutually took up the sword, let me also Mr. Knox join you in the apology, and be our forgiveness mutual". This was unnecessary replied Knox, "I took up the sword voluntarily and drew it against my friend.¹ I needed not to have meddled with the subject; I had no knowledge of the trustees, but I knew you too well to have done what I did thus unnecessarily; are we friends?" This was typical of Knox, and as Moore said, "it is only a truly great and generous mind that can say, I have done wrong".²

The Rev. John Walker³ made a vigorous attack upon the Methodists of Ireland. He accused them of refusing to co-operate with other Christians in spreading the Gospel through

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1. He was a friend of Moore, and had entertained him at his mother's house in Derry, but party spirit was too strong at the time to regard a friend.
 2. Life of Rev. Henry Moore, including autobiography ; by Mrs. Richard Smith. p.132.
 3. Rev. John Walker (1768-1833) founder of "The Church of God", which was an attempt to return to Apostolic practices.

the country; of making the increase of their Society their principal concern; of an idolatrous attachment to men and submission to human authority. He also complained that their interpretation of Evangelical religion was perverse, and employed to sanction a system of human feelings¹. Knox defended the Methodists against these unkind attacks. He maintains that he is unaware of the refusal of Methodists to co-operate with others in evangelisation, and if it were true, it was regrettable. He strongly deprecates the idea that the zeal of the Methodists for their favourite doctrines was a selfish fear for the interests of their Society, and that Mr. Walker, who displayed such enthusiasm for the work of turning sinners from darkness to light, should be the last to impute such a mean motive to the Methodists. He acknowledges that the Methodists may over-rate the writings of Wesley and Fletcher, but he reminded him that if they placed these writings in the hands of their members, they always placed the Scriptures also, and never considered the former paramount to the Scriptures. He gives a qualified defence of Methodist doctrines, but sees in their enthusiasm a return to Apostolic times, "for who" he asks "since the Apostolic era, can be compared with those immediate followers of our Redeemer?. You only read of the first preachers of Christianity, you see and meet with, and are, perhaps annoyed by the Methodists".²

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1. An Expostulatory address to the members of the Methodist Society in Ireland.-Dublin 1802. Cf. Halliday Pamphlets, R.I.A.
 2. Remarks, on an Expostulatory address to the members of the Methodists Society, by Alexander Knox.

John Walker wrote seven letters¹ in reply to Knox's defence, but the latter refused to continue the controversy. He had "no motive for taking up his pen" at first, "except the feelings of Christian charity, and a regard for the interests of practical religion". The whole business was painful to him, and when the Walkerites attacked John Jebb's sermon in 1804, Knox advises him to deny himself the relish of replying, because "truth will gain more advantage, from those puerile opposers of it being left completely to themselves".²

The striking feature of this controversy is the marked difference of attitude between the two. Walker was quarrelsome, and cantankerous, Knox was meek and gentle, and whilst establishing the things he contended for, he did it with Christian charitableness. No Wesleyan seems to have replied to John Walker.

We have noticed Knox's friendship with Bishop Jebb, and the Correspondence reveal his unstinted generosity in sharing with him the ideas which he had thought out in private. Jebb lacked originality, but once his mind was set in motion, he could make good use of the material supplied to him. Knox supplied the ideas. Jebb once said that Knox had the right to dispose of his sermons.³ He displayed similar generosity with others who sought his guidance on ethical and spiritual matters. He would spend days with a visitor who genuinely sought light, and would write long epistles on the request of friends to

1. Halliday Pamphlets. R.I.A.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. I
p. 112.

3. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 238.

people, whom he had not seen.¹ Jebb's health broke down in 1809. He expressed a desire to visit England, accompanied by Knox and the latter willingly acquiesced. Knox renewed many old friendships, and it was this time he met William Wilberforce. Knox requested Jebb to bring a number of sermons with him on this visit which lasted for four months. He was very anxious that Jebb should use this opportunity to make himself known in England, and to spread the ideas, which had by this time quite definitely developed into a system. It was a system that deprecated party spirit, and strove to cultivate a desire and determination for Christian Re-union. Jebb could say to him as early as 1805, "I hope I am not wrong in indulging the reflection, for I cannot help indulging it, that you are providentially employed, in sowing the seeds of union between contending parties here, and in England".²

He was a Catholic minded Christian, and as early as 1804, had spoken of the great want of Catholic preachers, who were above such things as, "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos"³. His views on this matter matured with the years. He exercised his influence in favour of Christian Re-union, in an age when party spirit was strong. He deprecated any tendency towards divisions in the Church, and deeply regretted the movement in the direction of dissent in Methodism, especially the adoption of the principle by the Irish Methodists. He finds the remedy for the unsettled state of mind of the period in asking "for the old

1. Remains, Vol.I. p.236.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.I.p.

204.

3. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 138.

paths", and pleaded for a study of Church History from the beginning, and not merely from the Reformation. He is convinced that a cultivation of a historical sense would settle the doubts of contending parties. The ideas inculcated by him gradually gained ground, and his principle of combating error by presenting opposite truth,¹ had the distinct advantage of reducing controversy to a minimum and of winning the sympathy of others. John Henry Newman advocated the same principle among the Tractarians, but Knox was more successful in adhering to the rule, and slowly and silently, he sowed the seed, which bore fruit in a growing desire for the realisation of our Lord's Prayer, "that they may be one, even as we are one".

CHAPTER 7.

PROPOSED REUNION OF THE ESTABLISHED AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN IRELAND.

Knox lived to see the day when a proposal was put forward for the reunion of the Established Church in Ireland with the Roman Catholic Church. This interesting project was considered in 1824. The school of thought led by Knox, with its approximation to Roman Catholicism, whilst at the same time holding fast to the principles of the early Reformers, had not been without its effects upon the two Churches. The very fact that reunion was

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol. I. p. 129

even considered, shows that the leaders were moving in that direction. It was a great advance on the old antagonism between them, but it also made clear that Knox, who had been a life-long advocate of a movement that gave impartial consideration to Roman Catholicism, was not blind to its faults.

The suggestion for the reunion was first mooted in the House of Commons on 6th, May 1824 by Mr. Robertson, on the motion of Mr. Hume, "with regard to the expediency of inquiring whether the present Church Establishment of Ireland be not more than commensurate to the services to be performed, both as regards the number of persons employed and the incomes they receive". After drawing a picture of the state of the Church with its pluralities, and the incomes of the clergy as compared with the Roman Catholic priests, and showing that the ratio of Protestants to Roman Catholics, was one to fourteen, he maintained that the time was overdue for a revision. This had been a bone of contention for many decades in Ireland. It had aroused much bitterness, and was the cause of much discontentment among the Irish people. Mr. Robertson advocated the union of the Protestants and Roman Catholics of the Kingdom, as the best means of restoring peace and tranquillity in Ireland. He was hopeful of the success of the project, and believed that there was no essential difference of faith, and that Rome, if applied to, would willingly make any reasonable concessions to meet the spirit of conciliation and of Union.¹

This suggestion was warmly taken up by Dr. Doyle, the

1. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, New Series, Vol. II (1824)

Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, who in a letter¹ to Mr. Robertson definitely states that he concurs in the sentiments expressed by him in the House of Commons. After alluding to the fruitless efforts in the past of bringing about peace and tranquillity to Ireland, and that, whilst Catholic Emancipation was a great public measure, it would not remedy the evil of the tithe system, he says "The union of the Churches, however... would together, and at once effect a total change in the disposition of men; it would bring all classes to co-operate zealously in promoting the prosperity of Ireland, and in securing her allegiance for ever to the British throne". The Bishop goes on to say that such a union, would not be so difficult as it appears to many, and maintained that the time was favourable to carry through such a project, "for the Government is powerful and at peace, the Pope is powerless and anxious to conciliate: the Irish Catholics are wearied and fatigued, exceedingly desirous of repose: the Established religion is almost fritted away; the clergy of the Established unpopular, and without flock".² He believed that the clergy would, without exception, be willing to make sacrifices, and adds: "I myself would most cheerfully and without fee, pension, emolument, or hope, resign the office which I hold, if by doing so, I could in any way contribute to the union of my brethren and the happiness of my country".³ He then suggests that a Conference should be held including Protestant and Catholic divines to ascertain the points of agreement and the difference between the Churches,

1. Letters on the reunion of the Church of England and Rome from and to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, John O'Driscoll, Alexander Knox and Thomas Newenham.

2. Ibid. p.7.

3. Ibid. p.7.

and that the result of their discussions should be made the basis of a project for reunion. The chief points for discussion in the opinion of Dr. Doyle were "the Canon of the Sacred Scriptures, Faith, Justification, the Mass, the Sacraments, the Authority of Tradition of Councils of the Pope, the Celibacy of the Clergy, Language of the Liturgy, Invocation of Saints, Respect for Images, Prayers for the Dead".¹

This is an extraordinary document. It evinces a strong desire for union on the part of a Roman Catholic Bishop, so strong is his desire that he makes the first move. The tone of the letter is conciliatory, and he seems to be willing to make concessions to any length, as long as the desired goal is attained.

It was, however, Knox that dealt the death blow to it. In a letter² to Mr. Newenham, who had sought his judgement on the subject, he expressed his thought very candidly, and in friendly fashion, but his incisive mind could not fail to analyse it, and point out its weakness. Whilst he had no misgivings as to Dr. Doyle's sincerity of purpose, he deprecated his use of "soft and ambiguous terms", which were calculated to make a wrong impression upon the ignorant, and lamented that he had not exercised greater care in the use of his language. Knox expresses his belief that much could be conceded in matters of discipline, the Eucharist, English Liturgy, and even the marriage of secular priests. But he goes on to say that there is one indispensable demand, which would make union with the Church of Rome absolutely impossible. And that is the question of Authority. "No other

1. Letters on the Reunion of the Church of England and Rome &c., by Dr. Doyle. p. 9.
 2. Vide *ibid*, by Alexander Knox, dated 7th, July, 1824.

union between the Church of England and that of Rome is possible, but such as would involve a complete re-subjugation of the former to the latter. The Church of Rome must part with its essence as an Ecclesiastical polity, before it could admit us to communicate with it on any other condition". He doubts not that Dr. Doyle is aware of this, and that he is too sincere a Roman Catholic to wish even the possibility of this point being compromised. "I am sure he is well aware that unqualified acquiescence in every matter of belief imposed by the ruling powers of the Church is the key-stone of its entire structure". He maintains that "the principle could no more be relinquished than the Popedom could be annihilated". He concludes: "there I conceive all correspondence with junctionaries ought to begin, if they cannot on this great point give us satisfactory answer, we owe it to ourselves, our posterity, and to the clear guidance of God's Providence to proceed not one step further in a step of re-union."

We owe a debt of gratitude to Thomas Newenham for publishing the above correspondence.

Knox shows much sympathy and understanding of Roman Catholicism, but he was sound on the main principle of the Reformation, viz: Authority, which was, and is, the chief obstacle to re-union. Rome may safely go to some lengths in her concessions, but to yield this principle as Knox points out, would be to take away the very foundation of her ecclesiastical polity.

Knox's letter does not seem to have been answered,

and the correspondence closed. He had pinned down the Bishop to one main point, and however desirous the latter may have been for re-union he evidently felt that he could not face the issue, however powerless the Pope may have been. The very fact that Knox was asked to take part in this correspondence is a clear indication of his position and standard among his contemporaries. He cannot, however, be accused of any want of desire for re-union. He longed for it, and expressed his belief that one day it would be attained, when there would be One Fold as well as One Shepherd, but in order to reach this desired goal, "Principles need be developed, both on the side of the Roman Catholics and that of the Protestants, which will show both how many things they have respectively misunderstood, and what that true and safe ground is, were they to meet as brethren and hold the faith in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life". He suggests that a better method of attaining this understanding would be to cultivate friendly and free intercourse between Protestants and Roman Catholics, as he had done with Dr. Everard. This would make for better feeling between them. He expressed the hope that Newenham's correspondence would lead in this direction.

Knox's appreciation of the piety cultivated in the Roman Catholic Church, and his approximation to Roman Catholicism in some of his theological views, was frequently misunderstood by his contemporaries, and taken to mean a desire to see Roman Catholicism in power again. To none was this more surprising

than to himself, and when possible he would correct the mistaken notion. Someone told Mrs. Hannah More that "even Alexander Knox had acknowledged that the time was now passed to give power to the Roman Catholics", and Sir Thomas Acland wrote him to inquire about the truth of the statement, which Knox emphatically denied.¹ A bishop once asked someone whether he thought Dr. Pusey would follow Newman to Rome, to which the reply was given, "I cannot think it: he lives in the Scriptures".² The same may be said about Knox. He was a daily student of the Scriptures and believed it should be read in the original in order to apprehend and appreciate it adequately.

CHAPTER 8.

LAST YEARS.

Knox's health was indifferent in 1825, which incapacitated him for any work that required deliberate and close thinking. He made a slight recovery, and we find him at the end of 1827 setting down on paper his thoughts on "Romans" and "Hebrews". His eyesight became weak, and Michael who had been reading for him was now himself failing and unable to read. He wrote several letters at this time to Rev. Chas. Forster, in which we gather that

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 402.

2. Autobiography of Isaac Williams, p. 154.

he was suffering under the most oppressive indisposition he had felt for years. It was a combination of biliousness and nervousness, and whilst he was unable to be engaged in any serious literary labour, he was glad that he possessed his reasoning powers, and thankful for everything that showed the blessed recourse of religion in the hour of trial, and for its value in deepening the devotional life.

Knox lived to see the breakdown of the ancient constitution in England, and the beginning of the modern world as we now know it. The first law that began the new world was that which recognised the civil equality of all creeds. Catholic Emancipation was first proposed in 1778, and was strongly resisted and refused for 50 years. Under the old constitution, no Roman Catholic could serve in a Civil post, and no Dissenter save under the protection of an annual Indemnity bill. Peel who had led the Tories in maintaining the status quo, in 1829 joined with Wellington to carry the Bill through Parliament. Knox was greatly interested in the Bill, as is seen in the letter to Mrs. La Touche.¹ Ireland had been promised this emancipation at the Union, and being defrauded, strongly and persistently strove for it. The Irish representatives did much to bring about the new law. John Richard Green says: "the Irish however had shown on their side the power of a national democracy in shaking the very foundations of English tradition in Church and State, ...from this time Irish influence was a potent factor in English politics".²

In the summer of 1829 Lord Camden expressed the wish that Knox should write a history of the Revolution and

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 520.

2. A Short History of the English People, John Richard Green, p. 849.

Union of Ireland, but he declined, on the ground that its events had become indistinct and obscure, and also that for sometime his health had been rapidly failing. It was at this time that a rumour was circulated that Knox was beginning to suspect the soundness of his religious views. The Rev. Chas. Forster wrote him a letter on 12th, October, 1829 warning him, "when labouring under nervous depression", to be cautious to whom "you communicate your uncomfortable physical feelings. To our knowledge, they have been misrepresented, as though they arose from erroneousness in your view of Christianity". He informs him of a report which had been industriously circulated that he was "labouring under a kind of religious despondency, owing to the unsoundness of his system, which (to use their phraseology) left him without a Saviour".¹ This naturally caused much concern to Knox's friends, for if it were true, it would discredit the school of thought of which Knox was leader, and might disturb the faith of its adherents. It would show to the world that the founder of the school had found his views wanting with the approach of death, and had recanted. Rev. Jas. N. Hornby, editor of Knox's *Remains*, devotes 118 pages to this matter.² He made a powerful defence of Knox, and pointed out that his depression of spirits was not due to his theological views, but rather to his physical condition. The rumour had its origin in a conversation between Knox and Rev. Thomas Kelly,³ during which the latter remarked to him that his views had not hitherto been sufficiently evangelical, and when Kelly was about to leave Knox said to him, "you must offer up a prayer for me". Knox

1. *Remains* Vol. IV. p. 562.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. III. Preface

3. *Christian Observer* for August 1836.

denies that this had any reflection upon the soundness of his system. "I have regarded my case, and do regard it, merely as a nervous indisposition; and nothing has, first or last, been further from my thoughts than the supposition of religious error having the smallest share in it".¹

In February 1830, Knox lost his old and valued friend Miss Fergusson, he says that her death was an *εὐθανασία*. One of her last acts was to engage her brother and sister to take charge of the home and to take care of Knox.² This is strong evidence of her regard and fidelity to him.

The winter of 1830 - 1, was almost more than he could bear. The cold winds and the frost severely affected his health. He even described himself as "hippish", notwithstanding his serious debility, he maintained his interest in those things which were dear to him. He had a business meeting of the Female Orphan House, (of which he was a Governor) in his own rooms in January, as he could not face the inclement weather. He gradually became weaker and his eye trouble prevented him from reading anything except brief letters from friends. He declined the warm invitation of the La Touches to spend a little time with them. He was conscious that dissolution was drawing nigh. He wrote brief and affectionate letters to the La Touches, keeping them informed of the state of his health. These letters breathe the spirit of sublime resignation, and humble trust in the all-wise and all-gracious God, that He would not lay upon

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 563.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. II p. 578.

him more than he could bear. The Rev. Charles Dickinson, subsequently Bishop of Meath, was at the time Chaplain to the Female Orphan House, and through this connection had frequent intercourse with him. He attended to him during the last months, and rejoiced that there were occasions when a word from him afforded some comfort to his friend. To the end Knox lived in the Scriptures as his last written prayer on the 16th., June, 1831 clearly shows:- "Oh merciful God ! bless me with that desire, and with that homage of the heart; open my understanding, that I may understand the Scriptures; and quicken my heart, that I may feel their power...."¹.

He died the following day, 17th., June, 1831 at the age of 74, and his remains were laid to rest in the vaults of St. Ann's Church, Dawson Street, Dublin, of which a year or two afterwards the Rev. Charles Dickinson became rector, and in the Church a tablet was erected to his memory, setting forth his intellectual qualities; his extraordinary power of eloquence in speech and in writing; his devotion of all his power to the service of God, and his affectionate attachment to the Church of England. It is a truly descriptive and appreciative inscription, and ends with the words "as he lived the life of faith, so he died, in the sure Christian hope of a resurrection to glory".

His last will and testament was proved in July, 1831, which showed his deep sense of gratitude to the La Touche family. He bequeathed to Mrs. La Touche the greater part of his fortune and all his books and papers to his niece.²

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p 633.

2. The Churchman Magazine, for July 1889. Article by Mrs. Kate Leeper.

In 1861 when St Ann's Church was restored, a beautiful window was erected as a memorial to Knox. It represents the Parables contained in St Matthew XIII, which is an aptly selected subject illustrating his point of view as contained in an original and interesting paper written by him, and incorporated in his Remains, Vol.I pp.407-425. The fact that a window was erected to his memory 30 years after his death is evidence of the deep and lasting impression he had made upon his associates and fellow-worshippers, and that "he being dead yet speaketh".

Conclusion.

There are four outstanding features in the life of Knox, which have a bearing upon his theological teaching, viz;-

1. The evangelical character of his early experience, which underlay all his piety and influenced his thought.
 2. The striving after holiness, wherein he is the link between Wesley and the Tractarians.
 3. The resultant catholicity of his outlook; the irenic quality of his mind, as shewn in his interest in Re-union.
 4. The limit to this irenic temper, as shewn in his attitude to the question of Authority.
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P A R T II

THE TEACHING OF ALEXANDER KNOX.

CHAPTER 9.
-----EVANGELICALISM .Section i: Conversion.

Knox was indebted to John Wesley for his evangelicalism. We have seen that he was born of Methodist parents, and brought up in a Methodist atmosphere: he made his acquaintance with John Wesley as a youth and being mutually attracted, their acquaintance developed into a warm and affectionate friendship, despite disparity of age. Knox could justly refer to him as "my old friend". He writes of him with a certain intimacy, and yet reverence, that could only come from the pen of a person who was a close and chosen friend of the old man. They did not agree on all matters as we shall see, and, before Knox was twenty years of age his relish for Methodist practices abated, and he joined the Church of England, yet the influence of John Wesley and the Methodist Society at Londonderry was deep and lasting. When he returned to religious matters after his brief excursion into politics, he recognised and cordially acknowledged his indebtedness to his early religious influence and teaching. In a long letter to Mrs. Hannah More written in 1806, he definitely describes himself as a debtor to John Wesley. Whilst he does not hesitate to say that there were some crudities in the works of John Wesley, he holds that there still remain in his writings: "such elements of evangetic truth and piety, that, if properly culled and

collected ,.....and reduced to what would be merely a just and natural arrangement, they would form,... a compendium, the most practical, the most truly philosophical, the most scriptural, and, I must add, the most consonant with our matchless Liturgy, that has ever yet been exhibited. It is, in my judgement, the very spirit of Macarius and Chrysostom, of Smith and Cudworth, of De Sales and Fenelon, simplified, systematised, rationalised, evangelised ! ". Then he refers to his own account of Faith in his reply to Daubeney, and adds: "If I have spoken rationally on the subject, it is to John Wesley, above all other human aid, that I owe it".¹

(a) It has been noticed in a previous chapter that Knox himself passed through an evangelical experience of conversion . He had known the wonderful difference in his own life as a result of a changed heart, which fixed his affections on God, and led him to find the deeper happiness, and better health in a united life. It is perhaps worthy of notice that his conversion did not take place till he was thirty- nine years of age, and because of that, it was deeper and more thorough. Principal T. Hywel Hughes calls attention to the fact that the conversion of those who have exercised the greatest influence, and have become creative personalities, have not been adolescent conversions, and this he says: "seems to suggest that when conversion does take place in later life it goes deeper, and works a more radical change than in the case of adolescents ".²

1. Remains, Vol.III, pp. 137-8.

2. The New Psychology and Religious Experience. Principal T. Hywel Hughes. p. 213.

This statement is further supported in the life of Knox.

The change went deep down, and wrought a permanent difference of outlook and attitude. He gives the following account of his spiritual transformation in a letter to George Schoales, "Six years ago,.... I underwent a revolution, that emancipated - me from the slavery of this world. To that wonderful time, therefore I trace back every thoroughly good habit. I can look back to a point at which I awoke, as it were, from a dream, and found myself as if hanging over fathomless perdition; and I can mark another point, a few days after, when, in conversation with a Methodist preacher, a dawn sprung up, that has been since often beclouded by disease, but which never has gone back. In neither instance did my reflection operate; but the feeling, in the first instance, was peculiarly insulated: so that, though I am no advocate for the necessity of sudden conversions, yet neither can I, consistently with my own experience, reject them.¹

A few points emerge in this account,:-

(1) Conversion was preceded by a period of acute distress, He found himself "as if hanging over a fathomless perdition". He passed from sleep to wakening, only to find himself on the brink of a precipice. It was the difference between a dream and reality, and the realisation of danger brought with it distress and fear.

(2) There is no mention of a human aid to effect this initial stage, and elsewhere he definitely attributes it to his early religious training, which after years of deviation

1. Remains, Vol. IV. pp. 128-9. dated November 7th. 1803.

was not wholly destroyed. "When this feeling was more strongly revived in me, it was through the very hands of God himself; who, without the intervention of human means, awakened me from the sleep of my soul in a moment".¹

(3) The second stage of the experience was a passing from darkness to light, "a dawn sprung up". He found relief from his acute distress and painful hardships.

(4) He was assisted to arrive at this second stage by human aid. He was led to the dawn of light by one who already possessed the experience. The human agent was a Methodist preacher. He prayed with him. Similarly it was through the aid of a poor ignorant mechanic, Mr. Bray, that Charles Wesley had possessed the experience, and in John Wesley's case, it was Peter Böhler.

(5) It was a sudden conversion. This was the rule rather than the exception among the early Methodists, so that they were disposed to look for a sudden transformation as one of the marks of the evangelic experience. Knox disagreed with them on this important matter, whilst he did not, and could not, deny the revolutionary change, he strongly rejected the necessity of it. The change could be, in his opinion just as thorough in the case of the person, who could not point to the hour and place of his conversion.

(6) It was not a mere emotional experience, though a surface judgment of his description seems to point to this conclusion. He says "in neither instance did my reflection operate, but the feelings". It was natural for him

1. Remains, Vol. 1. p 70

to give such a description, because of the sense of relief that came to him, but the relief was the result of the consciousness of Some One there. He was led to pray, and by this means, which he never afterwards abandoned, he experienced the presence of God. These points show that the circumstances of his conversion were similar to those which attended Methodist conversions.¹

(b) He emphasised the need of the evangelical experience. Whilst he disagreed with Wesley's over emphasis on sudden conversion, he was equally as insistent on the change itself, as Wesley was. The circumstances may vary, but the substance is absolutely necessary. He brought this out very clearly in his letter to Jebb on Christian preaching,² which shows that he had matured thoughts on the subject as early as 1801. After deprecating the kind of preaching which represented Christianity as a scheme of external conduct, rather than as an inward principle of moral happiness and moral rectitude, he maintained that the three great features of Christian preaching are, to impress upon the hearers:

(1) The danger and misery of an unrenewed, unregenerate state; "whether it be of the more gross, or of the more decent kind".

(2) The absolute necessity of an inward change; a moral transformation of mind and spirit.

1. The Idea of Perfection, Dr. R. Newton Flew. pp.317-8
 2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. I pp.13-32. The letter was first published in Burnet's Lives, 3rd. edition. Introduction by John Jebb. pp.VI- XXVIII.

(3) The important and happy effects which take place, when this change is really produced.¹

He proceeds to point out that the change is more conspicuous in some than in others. There are some who are gently and gradually reclaimed from a course of vice and folly, and do not feel the deep compunction of the penitent, "But, the change itself, from the dominion of the carnal mind, to that of the spiritual mind, must be wrought".² To urge the necessity of the change is to him the essence of Christian preaching. No amount of exhortation to strive to attain an ethical standard avails, without impressing on the people the sense of their natural inability, to do anything, that is right, and their consequent need of divine grace. A more thorough-going evangelicalism was scarcely found in John Wesley. St Paul's dictum that " unless a man hath the mind of Christ, he is none of His", was fully appreciated by Knox. He writes of the miraculous change in the lives of working class men and women. He had known people rough and rude, changed into gentle and humble men and women. He had witnessed the Gospel as "the power of God unto Salvation", and emphasised the need of proclaiming it as such.

(c) He insisted upon "heart religion" rather than upon correct theological opinions. He criticised the preaching of his age as having no spirit in it. "It is the result of a kind of intellectual pumping; there is no gushing from the

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. I P.22.
2. Ibid. Vol. I. p.24.

spring".¹ He says in a letter to George Schoales that "to be truly evangelical, is to feel that the Gospel is the power of God unto Salvation; and, from that feeling, to speak so as to make others feel their wants, and hopefully to seek the true supply. This, and not doctrine is evangelical preaching".² Whilst correct theological views are important, they can be no substitute for the power of the Gospel within the soul. There is no substitute for personal and inward religion. It is really the difference between assenting to a doctrine and believing the doctrine with all the heart and mind. The former leaves the adherent cold and weak in the hour of great need: the latter is the warmth of life, and gives the believer the security of a firm anchorage in the time of great storms.

Correct theological arguments alone fail to carry conviction. They cannot produce in others the sense of want and weakness. They lack the power to awaken conscience. Knox revolted against the Rationalism of his age, and saw the weakness of the apologists of the Church. The 18th. century had amply justified his attitude. It was not Bishop Butler, the able apologist, who rendered the greatest service to Christianity, but rather John Wesley, who preached the power of the Gospel unto Salvation. This had demonstrated before the eyes of people the life-giving force of Christianity. No stronger argument could be found for religion than the changed lives of men and women. It was no wonder that this able

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Knox and Jebb.Vol.I.p.14
 2. Remains, Vol. IV. p.138.

disciple of John Wesley insisted upon "heart religion".

(d) John Jebb's evangelical outlook and preaching was due to Knox's influence. Jebb was a High Churchman more of the older type than Knox, and was, therefore, rather suspicious at first of the enthusiasm among the Methodists. He recognised the value of personal religion, but did not wish to be branded as a wild enthusiast, and so in December 1800 he asked Knox, "what do you conceive to be the mean, between cold morality, and wild enthusiasm, in preaching ?". It was this question that led his master to write his letter on Christian preaching. It was a clear and convincing reply, in which he definitely declares, that of the two extremes, enthusiasm is preferable to cold morality. The mean between the two extremes represents his own position which he would have his friend adopt, viz: to urge the necessity of the substance of conversion, without insisting on circumstances "such as, a moment of conversion, known, and remembered; certain depths of distress; strongly marked, instantaneous consolations ".¹ This he represents as enthusiasm, where-as, if personal religion be regarded as enthusiasm, and set down as rank Methodism, he can only reply that "it is such Methodism, as was taught by the great divines of our Church, from the Reformation, until the latter end of the 17th.century".² This letter seemed to have clarified Jebb's thoughts on the subject, and made him a convinced evangelical. He read it frequently and confessed "I will be happy to preach, all my life,

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.I.p.25
 2. Ibid. Vol.I. p. 26.

such Methodism".¹ Under the guidance of Knox, he became a close student of Wesley, whose Works he purchased. He sought to understand Methodists in his parish, and was held in high esteem by them, and when, in 1805, he expressed a desire to Knox to use his influence to find him a sphere of service in Dublin, he gives as one of his primary motives; to preach experimental religion, and so attract the upper class.² Through the influence of Knox, the warmth and affection of a personal religion was infused into the High Churchmanship of John Jebb.

(e) Knox's closest Anglican friends were the Evangelicals. Mrs. Hannah More and the Clapham group, and others of them did much for personal religion by word and pen, but their lives were even a more eloquent testimony of the redeeming love of God. When Jebb accompanied Knox to England in 1809, they had much intercourse with the Evangelicals, of whom Jebb says : "but, however I may differ from them on some points, I may safely say they are among the excellent of the earth;.... and now I say, as I could wish to do on my death-bed, 'sit mea anima cum istis!'"³

Knox saw in Methodism a reproduction of New Testament Christianity. These people who possessed the power of the Gospel made others feel the want of it. Religion had again become infectious. It was "caught and not taught". He valued the Evangelicals not for their doctrine, but because they had

1. Thirty Years Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. I.
p. 33.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 211.

3. Life of John Jebb by Charles Forster. Vol. I. p. 81.

more than others, kept experimental religion alive. He had a sincere desire to correct, if he could, "the aberrations of Methodism", but he dared no more oppose or depreciate its substance, than he dared slight or condemn the Bible. "What" he asks "would this country be, if Methodist piety were now extinguished throughout its middle and working classes: if that sense of God, that feeling of inward piety, which raises the soul of humble poverty to a happiness of which mere moral philosophy cannot even catch the idea, were to be swept off or annihilated ?".¹ He had imbibed the spirit and teaching of John Wesley on the subjective side of religion to a marked degree, and contributed much to foster this aspect among his circle of friends. We find him in August, 1828 still advocating heart religion, and maintaining that the evangelicals have been "the chief instruments of maintaining experimental religion in the reformed Churches".²

Section ii: Justification.

Knox sought to steer midway between what he considered to be two dangerous extremes in theology. The one extreme is that of Mysticism, which, whilst it had helped to preserve interior religion, rose to heights of ecstasy that could not be rationally explained. The other extreme is Scholasticism, which had appeared in a more recent dress in

1. Remains, Vol.IV. p.103-4.

2. Remains, Vol.IV. p.501.

Calvinism, and resolves religion ~~into~~ something exterior to the soul, and to be apprehended only by faith. The former rises to alpine heights, but contains "no distinct acts, no perceivable ideas",¹ whereas Calvinism grovelled in the depths of total depravity, and kept down the Christian moral character as if its rising too high was inconsistent with the honour of Divine grace.² He criticises the Calvinists for regarding justification as a "transaction done in Heaven, from which the soul derives consolation by a kind of strong affiance or confidence", but praises John Wesley for treating it much rather as a "transaction which takes place in the soul itself - a matter not of affiance but experience".³ It was with a view to preserving the good and discarding the evil of the above two extremes that he put forward a conception of justification very different from what he calls forensic theology. He claimed that Protestant theology, with concentration on the thought of justification in the forensic sense had had the effect of emphasising the beginning of the Christian life, to the lamentable neglect of the end. It endangered the "one thing needful". The weakness of this one-sided development has been since seen by other theologians. Bishop Gore said that the tendency to isolate the thought "Christ for us" from the other thought "Christ in us" has been historically an abundant source of scandal.⁴ It is certain that it was such an idea of justification in Protestant theology, with its

1. Remains, Vol.I. p. 298.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.I.p.118

3. Remains, Vol.III. p. 155.

4. Quoted by Rev.James S. Stewart. in his "A Man in Christ".p.152

accompanying results that led Knox to his conception, and at times to express somewhat opposite views. He tried to read his theory into the Homilies of the Church of England. and the Fathers, and to interpret Scripture in the light of it.

He makes much of the statement made by Milner, the Evangelical Church historian in his "History of the Church of Christ", that justification taken by itself, was at least, in its explicit form, either totally unknown or obscured from the end of the first century to the Reformation.¹ This is, of course, easily accounted for, because it had not until then become an issue of controversy.

That no teaching of his aroused more grave suspicion, and hostile attack may be gathered from a review of his Remains Volumes I and II in the "British Critic" for April 1835, and "The Primitive Doctrine of Justification" by the Rev. George Stanley Faber. The latter felt that with the publication of the second edition of Knox's Remains, he was bound to take up the cudgels, and strenuously oppose such views. In his dedication of the volume to Bishop Sumner of Chester, he says: "There are two systems respecting Justification, one of Intrinsic Righteousness infused into us by God, through our faith in our Lord Jesus Christ: the other grounds our Justification upon the Extrinsic Righteousness of Christ, appropriated and forensically made our own by faith as by an appointed instrument". The one, he says, is the system of Mr. Knox, the Church of Rome and the Schoolmen. The other, is the

1. Remains, Vol. I. pp. 257 & 259.

system of the Church of England, and of all the other Churches of the Reformation. Thus George Stanley Faber states categorically that Knox held the same view as the Roman Catholic Church, and later in his book maintains that Knox's conception was precisely the same as the Decrees of the Council of Trent.

The 'British Critic' whilst stating that Popery is a name for which it has little terror, says that Knox's "peculiar notions would be stigmatised as absolutely Popish", and adds, that his notions appear to them at least partially erroneous. Knox was conscious of this, but courageously declares that "he is not deterred from candidly examining the countenance of a doctrine, by seeing its back marked with the terrible word Popery". He reminds his reader of the saying of Richard Baxter, "I have long learned to know, that Satan can use even the names of Popery and anti-Christ, against a truth".¹ The extent to which the above statements are true will be brought out in a brief examination of his doctrine.

It should be stated at the outset that he does not altogether repudiate the forensic sense of the term justification, but he does emphatically deny that it means this and nothing more. "If I am asked, do I understand justification, exclusively, in the sense of making morally, or spiritually righteous ? I answer , no!"² He, therefore, gives to it not only a moral but also a reputative interpretation.

1. Remains, Vol.I. p.284.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.II
p. 348.

He maintains that it is a grievous mistake to separate justification from sanctification, and endeavour to treat the one as isolated from the other. "I doubt not but it will be one day acknowledged, that St Paul's justification and sanctification, his *δικαιοσύνη* - and his *ἀγαθός*, - do not differ from each other, as being, the one imputative, and the other, ingrafted or inherent; but, as being respectively significant of the higher, and lower stages of the Christian life".¹ He was convinced that unless the two ideas were kept together neither of them could be adequately understood or rightly apprehended. He denies that this combination leads to a confusion of the two doctrines, and declares, "I apprehend it rests on this pure mistake, that sanctification is a general term, for all inherent goodness wrought in us, by the grace of Christ. On the contrary, I am persuaded it is a distinctive term, for goodness grown into, or, at least, growing into, maturity".² The idea of sanctification as "goodness growing into maturity" makes it inseparable from justification. It is as closely connected with it as the ripened fruit is to the root of the tree. It is a part of a whole, and not something added as an extra. So far present day Protestants could heartily agree with him.

There are certainly pitfalls awaiting the theologian who considers these doctrines (justification and sanctification) separately, and in isolation. It inevitably results in a one -

1. Remains, Vol. I. p.321.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p.273.

sided development and is gravely misleading .¹

The details of his doctrine reveal a kinship with Roman Catholic teaching.

(a) He maintains that the term *δικαιοσύνη*, means the substance of righteousness. "What I am impressed with, is, that our being reckoned righteous 'coram Deo', always, and essentially, implies a substance of *δικαιοσύνη* .

(b) Moral righteousness precedes reputative justification. The substance of righteousness is "previously implanted in us; and that our reputative justification is the strict and inseparable result of this previous efficient moral justification. I mean, that the reckoning us righteous, indispensably presupposes an inward reality of righteousness, on which this reckoning is founded".² It is evident from this passage that he has departed from the Protestant position and is quite definitely expressing the interpretation of the Roman Catholic Church in the decrees of Trent. They explain justification as infused and intrinsic righteousness, and this efficient moral justification precedes and is the ground for reputative justification.

(c) He makes infant Baptism a vehicle of justification. After mentioning the expression of thanks to God in the Baptismal Service, for having regenerated the child by the Holy Spirit, and for having received it as His own child by

1. A Man in Christ by James S. Stewart. p.257.

2. Remains, Vol. I. p. 278.

adoption, he adds; "It follows then, that, in the judgement of the Church every one baptised in infancy, commences life in a justified state".¹

(d) His doctrine of faith tallies with his conception of justification and sanctification. He maintains that "the soundness of faith, depends on its possessing two properties,- intrinsic cordiality, and objective correctness. The necessity of a cordial faith admits of no question..... Faith is ~~x~~ correct with respect to its object, in proportion as it corresponds to the facts and truths, divinely propounded for our belief, in their substance, measure, and purpose".² Faith to him is not merely a cold intellectual assent to the Creeds, but also the heart must affectionately embrace and adopt a course of life which contemplates, studies and resorts "to our blessed Redeemer, each day and hour, with every affection and faculty of the inner man, as the Captain of our salvation, who is able to save to the uttermost".³ He strongly repudiates the idea of faith as reliance on what Christ did once for all. He claims the support of John Wesley in his teaching of faith, who he maintains directly and exclusively connects faith with holiness. He admits that John Wesley's teaching on this subject is somewhat confused, and certainly Wesley does speak of it as "a full reliance on the blood of Christ; a trust in the merits of His life, death, and resurrection; a recumbency upon Him as our atonement and our

1. Remains, Vol.I. p.281.

2. *ibid.* Vol.II.p.126.

3. *ibid.* Vol.II.p.127.

life, as given for us, and living in us ".¹ This definition includes the idea of reliance on what Christ did for us, but the last sentence, "living in us", corrects the extreme view of mere trust on the life "given for us". It does not content itself in looking back, it also looks forward. It is a cleaving to the Redeemer in order to become like Him. This latter point is the one emphasised by Knox, and to him the essence of Wesley's idea of faith is a root or principle infused by God - "a grace wrought in us by omnipotence, and, therefore to be implored, and waited for and panted after".

(e) He emphasises that faith is a gift of God, so it removes any element of merit. It can never be self manufactured. He quotes with approval Andrew Fuller's definition of faith, as "the gift of God,.... the union, though we be active in it", being, "in reality, formed by Him who actuates us, and to Him belongs the praise".²

If as Knox states that the whole question depends upon the precise meaning of the three words *δικαιώω*, *δικαίος*, and *δικαιοσύνη*, the linguistic evidence goes strongly against him.

(1) *Δικαιοσύνη*. He holds that this word like all other Greek terms ending in *οσύνη* must signify inherent moral principle, and never can mean anything else. No doubt the substantive has this meaning as it is sometimes employed by.

1. The Standard Sermons of John Wesley, Vol. I. p. 40-1.

2. Remains, Vol. I. p. 391.

St Paul, e.g. in the Epistle to the Romans I. v.16, where he speaks of "the power of the Gospel" and "God's righteousness" as substantially the same. Again in Romans V.vv.17-19, the Apostle speaks of the pernicious influence of the first Adam, as contrasted with the gracious influence flowing from Christ. Then in verse 19 he says "οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς δίκαιου καταστυγόνται οἱ πολλοί". This clearly means actual salvation from sin, and further "this is the real point in the argument".¹ But St Paul presupposes that the sinner has been justified or acquitted, without which righteousness of character could not be the possession of the believer. This is the view clearly set forth by C.H.Dodd on this passage. He maintains that it implies a double meaning of justification as a forensic acquittal from guilt and actual salvation from sin. The predominant meaning, however, of the term in St Paul's Epistles, having regard to the fact that he was so strongly influenced by his Jewish background, is not "to make righteous", but "to put in the right".² This is also the view held by James S.Stewart who says: "In the main Paul treats righteousness as a status conferred on men by God. When God accepts a man for Christ's sake, He vindicates him. He declares him to be acquitted. He pronounces him righteous".³

(2) Δικαιόω . Whilst Knox admits that this word is sometimes used in the sense of "an estimate formed, or a

1. Epistle to the Romans by C.H.Dodd. p.83.

2. Ibid, p.10.

3. A Man in Christ by James S.Stewart.p.248.

judgement pronounced", it has an extensive meaning, and is employed by the Apostle to "express a change, which, must in its nature, be matter of sensible experience".¹ It is true that St Paul in the passage above quoted Romans V. v.18, does speak of "justification of life", which means that it is not merely a change of status in the eyes of God, but also of the new life in Christ, which leads to sanctification. The word, however, never means "to make righteous". "The Greek word translated justify means in Greek writers 'to account or pronounce right', or 'to treat justly'. It does not mean, 'to make righteous' ".²

(3) Knox acknowledges a double meaning to the term *δικαιόω*. And still he argues that since *δικαιοσύνη*, connotes "solely and exclusively" an inward and spiritual infusion, he concludes, that both words are so united in the whole of St Paul's reasoning as to make the meaning of the verb identical with that of the substantive. This argument is a clear indication of the wish being father of the thought, and quite illegitimately of reading his own theory into the writings of the Apostle. We have also seen that we cannot accept Knox's linguistic interpretation in the light of modern scholarship.

When we turn to the meaning of justification and righteousness in the Old Testament, by which St. Paul was so greatly influenced, we find that their connotation is somewhat complicated. ³ We are here in the atmosphere of the law. Sin

1. Remains, Vol. II. p.21.

2. The Epistle to the Romans, C.H.Dodd. p.51.

3. Christianity according to St Paul. Anderson Scott.p.53-59.

was not an inward feeling, but a transgression of a law, and it was the authority that administered the law that could pronounce one free from penalty. He was declared righteous without necessarily possessing the ethical quality. It also meant in some passages that it was by obedience to the law, that one could establish a claim to a righteousness. "It shall be our righteousness, if we observe to do all these commandments" (Deut. ch.6. v.25.), and further it meant the righteousness of God vindicating the cause of His people, and with the growth of the expectation of the Messianic age this conception became more pronounced. It, therefore, has at least three meanings in the Old Testament (1) to be declared righteous. (2) to be righteous, and (3) the righteousness of God. As to (3) St. Paul saw that the righteousness of God was not something to be manifested in the future, but was being revealed at the present, "the righteousness is revealed" Romans ch.1. v.16. In regard to (2) he repudiates very strongly. He considered it humanly impossible to fulfil the law. He himself had striven to observe the law and had failed. St. Paul denied most emphatically the element of merit. God it is who "justifieth the ungodly", "God reckoneth righteousness apart from works". (Romans ch.IV. v.5-6.) He emphasises the act of God giving a sinner a new status, by declaring him righteous, so that while St. Paul does associate righteousness with salvation, it is the gradual development of the new status. The inward and ethical quality is consequent.

upon the new standing before God, and not as Knox maintains vice versa.

Knox brings out an important point when he states, that the sinner is not merely in the presence of a Judge, but of a Father, so that the new status granted to him is the status of a son in the home, which necessarily implies an inner urge, the spirit of gratitude which inspires obedience in return for God's great and infinite mercy. There is, therefore, in reality something more than mere forensic acquittal, there is life, "the justified state itself must be, simply and essentially, in the judgement of the Church a state of spiritual vitality, which, duly tended and cultivated, thrives and advances, but which when unguarded and neglected wastes, withers and dies. How completely this system sweeps away the merely forensic system leaving it neither branch nor root, I need say no more to illustrate".¹

It is not difficult to appreciate Knox's motive in opposing the mere forensic sense of the term, for that to him meant solely a circumstantial change, whereas he saw in it spiritual vitality. It was the same as that which has led modern theologians to modify the mere forensic sense of the term, and to hold that the act of justification does effect a change in the inner man. "The very pronouncement does in point of fact, have the effect of making a man something he was not before. Justification carries life with it. It puts life into

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 283.

the man who receives it. It is life".¹ Knox puts it epigrammatically when he says: "It is not the imputation of character, but the implantation of a principle."

There is always in the human heart the hankering after merit. St. Paul had known this as he looked back on his pre-Christian days, and this led him to combat the idea most strenuously in his justification by faith. This idea again became the important issue at the time of the Reformation, and as Martin Luther rightly said: "it is the Article of a standing or a falling Church". Knox endeavours to guard against the idea of merit, and definitely states that salvation from start to finish is the work of God.

He is for all that inclined to over emphasise the part that man has to play in it. He is in danger of reiterating the old teaching that God is willing to aid them who are willing to aid themselves. This emphasis leads to worse results than the other. The point of great importance is to stress the divine activity, and to maintain the indissoluble connection between justification and sanctification. Knox looks forward to the day when these two doctrines will be considered not separately, but as part of a whole. That day has now dawned.

1. A Man in Christ by James.S.Stewart. p.258.

CHAPTER 10.
-----CHRISTIAN PERFECTION

Christian perfection was Knox's favourite theme. It recurs again and again in his writings, and he dwells upon it with great delight. He forsook politics primarily in order to devote his time to the pursuit of holiness. This was the grand objective which beckoned him onwards and upwards, and which he never lost sight of. This ideal coloured all his thoughts and determined his attitude to every doctrine and ecclesiastical system. He brought them all to the bar of Christian perfection. It was the criterion that measured the value of all theories. "Does it aid a Christian in the exercise of holy living?" The answer to this question greatly influenced his acceptance or rejection of all religious practices. He was persuaded that full grown Christianity is the prime object in the divine economy. Just as in all things, which are capable of growth, the final cause is seen, not in what it is at first, but in that into which it grows. In all visible creation, God has made provision for the maintenance of this essential principle, and it would only be consistent with what we see in the natural order to look for the same principle in the spiritual

order. Full grown Christianity is suggested by the visible creation. This, however, is strengthened when it is found to be laid down in the New Testament as the goal of the Christian life. He maintains that if the New Testament had only to do with first principles, the story could be told in a few pages, but it was not satisfied with conversion without making progress towards perfection. This goal of the Christian life is to Knox the pearl of great price.

Knox maintained that it was the duty of the Church to call its members to pursue a life of holiness, and if it failed in this, it failed in the one thing needful. This brings to mind John Henry Newman's letter to his Bishop consequent upon the publication of Tract 90, in which he emphasises that the mark of the true Church is holiness.¹ Knox believed that the Church of England was treated with contempt, because the clergy presented a low view of the Christian life. He warns Jebb not to lower the standard. A necessity is laid upon the Church to hold up a high ideal, and when it does, it is bound to make its appeal. He would agree with Baron von Hügel, who when about to speak to a group of Oxford students and noticed their eager youthful countenances upturned in welcome to the substance of his paper, afterwards said: "It struck me once more with a wistful delight that in very deed Christianity flourishes through its saints, and that the surest way to rob it of its congenital attraction is to shrink from its heroic

1. Letter to the Bishop of Oxford on the occasion of the Ninetieth Tract; Via Media. Vol.II p. 422.

heights".¹ These were the heights of heroism and holiness.

Knox's high estimation of John Wesley was largely due to the latter's teaching on Christian perfection. In a letter to Jebb in 1804, he says: "In John Wesley's views of Christian perfection, are combined, in substance, all the sublime morality of the Greek Fathers, the spirituality of the Mystics, and the Divine philosophy of our favourite Platonists, Macarius, Fenelon, Lucas, and all of their respective classes, have been consulted and digested by him; and his ideas are, essentially, theirs".² John Wesley's great merit according to him was in popularising these ideas.

Section i: The Elements in his Doctrine of Christian Perfection.

(a) The goal of Christian perfection is unbroken fellowship with God. The message of the angel to the Church of Laodicea:—"Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me". He contrasts these words with the words of Jesus, "If any man love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him", (St. John XIV,v23.) He interprets the former as suggesting the idea of a visit rather than a fixed residence, whereas the latter contains the idea of an abiding presence. The consequence of keeping His words is a

1. Selected letters of Baron von Hügel, (1896 - 1924) ed. with a Memoir by Bernard Holland, p.47.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.I. p.143.

confirmed and effectual attachment, "In this case" he says "the blessing is that of permanent abode, both of the Father and the Son; whereas the apocalyptic promise is made to a much lower degree of right conduct, viz. to the first opening of the heart to our Saviour".¹

(b) It is a Divine gift. Whilst human effort is required to ensure progress towards the goal, he definitely states that holiness is a gift from God. "The true doctrine of Christian perfection, unites humility with confidence, and tenderness with liberty. Above all it derives its strength never from merely moral, but supremely from evangelic sources: I can do all things, through Christ which strengtheneth me".²

(c) It is deliverance from sin. The highest class of spiritual Christian is set free, not merely from the grosser kinds of sin, but also from the more subtle and inward forms, such as self-will, impatience and vanity. Christian perfection implies continued affectionate attachment to God, so that sin is cast out, and has no more dominion over man. It is the realisation of the prayer, "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name; through Christ our Lord."

(d) It is freedom from fear. External and internal fears vanish with perfection of Christianity. The convert may

1. Remains, Vol.I. p.21-22.

2. *ibid.* Vol.I. p.345.

have surrendered to Christ, because of a sense of fear; fear of death and the torments of hell, and whilst he is in the critical stages of the Christian life, he may still be troubled by fear. This monster, however, diminishes and finally disappears with Christian perfection. "Perfect love casteth out fear".

(e) It is growth in knowledge. The Christian life has its beginning in feeling. The Gospel leads to conversion by making a powerful impression upon the senses of the convert. He is awakened to a realisation of the love of God which appeals to his emotions, ~~but~~ the surrender to that love is an act of the will. He is then called to grow to maturity, which involves reflection. "He, who cannot reflect, and can only feel, must, of course, remain a babe all the days of his life;....whoever can think, is bound to think as a Christian."¹ He finds that the teachers of sanctification have ennobled reason, and he pays tribute to the service of the Cambridge Platonists in this matter. He quotes with hearty approval a passage from Benjamin Whichcote, which explains that, "Man is not at all settled or confirmed in religion, until his religion is the self-same thing with the reason of his mind; that, when he thinks he speaks reason, he speaks religion; or, when he speaks religiously, he speaks reasonably; and his religion and reason are mingled together; they pass into one principle; they are no more two, but one:"². This is to

1. Remains, Vol.I. p.169.

2. *ibid.* Vol.IV.p.545.

Knox the happiest state of mind on this earth, and it makes for stability, whereas religion consisting only of feeling is liable to fluctuations. He values principle much more than elevated feeling.

(f) It is a struggle at first. Inward harmony is not attained immediately at conversion. The old habits continue to be troublesome so that right actions are often accompanied in the beginning of a Christian life with great inward struggles. It is only slowly and by degrees that the grace of God roots up the old sinful desires, by implanting new and noble thoughts. As a right temper is formed and progress is made towards maturity the struggle diminishes, till he finds his chief delight in a life of allegiance to God, "whose service is perfect freedom". Knox strongly repudiates the idea that the Christian never gets beyond the low struggling stage. He interpreted Romans VII as describing St Paul's experience prior to his conversion and not as a description of his condition at the time of writing. The conflict between good and evil is at first a severe struggle, and in the beginning of the Christian course, the convert passes through a period of inward division and impotence, when he cries out like St. Paul, "O wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death ?". But the same answer is given to him as to the Apostle, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord". The struggle diminishes, and whilst it may not disappear

altogether, under the grace of God a man is gradually liberated from the dominion of sin.

(g) It is dominion over the world.

(1) It is a triumph over adversity. He claims that full grown Christianity implies victory over pain and poverty. It is a religion of conquering heroes. "To him that overcometh" is given the reward. The battlefield had been thronged with combatants and their victory has been complete and uniform.¹ He himself had been amongst the combatants, and by degrees passed through the former stages, first of revolt and resentment to affliction, and second of mere resignation till he reached the third and higher standard of using it to advance his Christian life.²

(2) It is a triumph over prosperity. The victory over wealth and honours of the world is another and a more difficult task than that over adversity. Our Lord pointed out the dangers of material wealth, and that "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God", yet He adds that with God all things are possible. This opposite kind of contest is more subtle and insidious, but Knox points out that "if the world was not to be first conquered by piety, piety must, infallibly, be conquered by the world. The victory of faith, therefore, must be accomplished over prosperity, as really as it has ever been over adversity".³

1. Remains, Vol.I. p. 183.

2. Remains, Vol.IV. pp. 119-123.

3. Remains, Vol.I. p. 184.

(h) It implies cheerfulness. He held that its joy comes with the beginning of Christian influences, but it comes in greater measure with matured Christianity. He would have no truck with the cold, rigid, dull and gloomy kind of holiness. Matured Christianity meant uninterrupted fellowship with God, at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore. It follows then that Christian perfection implies cheerfulness. It has a certain ascendancy, a winged piety, which cannot be cheerless. Heaven is not merely a future reward, it is also a present possession. He maintains that Christianity is the representation of very heaven upon earth, and he who possesses it will seek no other happiness.

(i) It implies peace. The human heart has a longing for inner peace. Knox shows that the heathen had searched for it, and that Horace had seen a vision of inward tranquillity, but the New Testament writers had out-stripped him, in that they actually possessed the blessing. Horace had said that a man can enjoy inward peace only by flying from himself, but St. Paul had advanced on him, "for he found it in the inner prison, with his feet fast in the stocks".¹ He did not attempt to fly from himself and his circumstances, but rather he put off the old man, and put on the new. He found inner tranquillity through the sublimation of his instincts and affection so that peace reigned within his mind and heart.

1. Remains, Vol.I. p.12.

Section ii: An Exposition of his Doctrine pointing out his agreement and disagreement with John Wesley.¹

(a) The goal of the Christian life, that of unbroken fellowship with God, is tantamount to St. Paul's doctrine of the Mystical Union with Christ. This was the Apostle's distinctively Christian teaching. The elements of all his other doctrines are to be found in the Old Testament developed and elaborated, of course, in the light of his new experience, but here in his doctrine of the Mystical Union with Christ was his great contribution. The Christian life meant ἐν Χριστῷ, no longer did σαλῆς have dominion over him, but rather τὸ πνεῦμα. This was also the goal of the Mystics.

We find here an interpretation of personality swayed by the Spirit of Christ. St. Paul speaks of living through the chief events of Christ's life. He died in Christ and was buried with Him. He rose with Him, and ascended to the heavenly places with Him. The deepest and most inward meaning of these events is missed if they are merely gratefully remembered. They must according to St. Paul be reproduced in the Christian in order to fulfil their purpose. "I have been crucified with Christ" (Galatians, II, v. 20). He nailed pride, self-will, and self-interest to the Cross and there died to sin, and was buried with Christ through baptism into death (Romans VI v. 4). From death and burial of the old life came forth the new

1. I am greatly indebted in this chapter to Dr. R. Newton Flew's book on "The Idea of Perfection".

life risen with Christ. Henceforth, it would have new aims and motives striving to seek the things which are above.

Knox was critical of certain aspects of Mysticism, and could not find any support in Scripture for "mystical abstraction"¹. He found room in his doctrine of Christian Perfection for the natural affections purified and sublimated till they loved the highest. Yet his aversion to the teaching about the Cross as something merely to be thankfully remembered is strong and is frequently mentioned in his writings. He emphasised the necessity of dying to sin and to worldly objects and motives, and of living in harmony and unity with the Living Christ. He too reproduced in his life the chief events in the life of Christ. He had died to the world that he might live to and with God.

(b) The necessity of aiming at Christian perfection. Like John Wesley he emphasised the call to the pursuit of holiness; "Piety is the grand object". It is the duty of the Church to underline this doctrine, and ever to hold it before the eyes of its members. Conversion is necessary, as a radical change "is the only substratum upon which the fabric of holiness can be erected"². Conversion therefore is not enough, there must follow the pursuit of holiness. Our Lord bade His followers "to be perfect". St. Paul pressed on towards the mark of perfection. The great glory of the Early Church

1. Remains, Vol.I, p.303.

2. Ibid. Vol.III. p.79.

consisted in its emphasis on the goal of the Christian life, particularly he finds this among the Greek Fathers, and of them his favourite was St. Chrysostom. He stated that the Mystics had rendered immense service in keeping up the tone of Christian piety within the Roman Catholic Church.¹ He criticised theologians of his day for not holding up the ideal of complete holiness. He did not deny that they admitted a possibility of progress, but they seldom ventured to define the goal, and when they did, they put in such qualifications, which left a doubt whether after all, any real advance is admitted.² He lamented the compromises in the various forms of Protestantism. He granted that there were individual exceptions, but the rule was to neglect holiness. The late Professor Harnack pointed to the same weakness in that ~~the~~ Lutheran Church "neglected far too much the moral problem, the 'Be ye holy, for I am holy' ".³

He regarded Protestantism as a method of excitement, which arose with a re-awakened activity of intellect and that it keeps up with ~~that~~ pace. He makes out that its leading principle is to make each individual intellectually active in matters of religion, and that this is not piety. "That Protestantism was called into being for the advancement of the Church to higher excellence, and that it will not finally fail of its purpose, we must gratefully acknowledge.

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 321.

2. Remains, Vol. I. p. 365.

3. History of Dogma, Harnack. Vol.VII, pp.266-7.

But there was a primitive excellence in the Christian Church - a sublimity, as well as simplicity of piety; in which, without any puzzle of the head, there was a seraphic glow of heart, a fire of divine love without the smoke of dark dogmas. This pure essence of religion lives and breathes in the ancient writers; but though there are many happy instances of Protestants participating in this principle, and some instances especially in our own Church, of a perfect exemplification of it; yet most certainly it is not, as yet, the prevailing spirit even of pious Protestants: **it** is not the natural Protestant turn".¹ He saw, however, quite clearly and gave due attention to the fact that Protestantism has had "its subordinate apparatus for pious excitement", in the successive movements of Puritans, Pietists, and Methodists. He sees in these movements within Protestantism, a providential provision to urge Christians to move on to their high calling of perfection. It is to him just an indication that God will not allow the Grand Object to be totally disregarded. He had a great admiration for the Cambridge Platonists and in many respects he resembled them. He was like Benjamin Whichcote, in that he exercised amazing Christian tolerance in an age of bigotry, and like John Smith in that he witnessed a deep and rich spirituality.² There is in Knox's writings an elevation and spiritual glow, which bespeaks a man at home with the things of God. He says of John Smith's Select Discourses, "these, I

1. Remains, Vol. III. p. 108

2. The Cambridge Platonists by Frederick J. Powicke - pp,63 -106.
Dent & Sons Ltd.

place at the head of the Church of England class. They are a noble volume; furnishing, in every page, the sublimest views of Christian piety".¹ He regards Richard Baxter as the chief among Nonconformists, and of the more modern, his favourite was Philip Doddridge of whom he says: "No one more perfectly exemplified the Christian spirit; or could seem more deeply to enjoy that inward, and unbroken peace, which is the privilege of the perfect man".² These quotations are taken from a letter to J. Henry Butterworth, on the subject of "The Line of Study to be Pursued". As he was a Methodist, Knox had no need to introduce him to John Wesley, but he informs his correspondent that "nothing can be purer, or nobler, than all his (Wesley's) views of inward religion: he would have it carried to its height; and he would admit nothing that could adulterate it".³ He had a high estimation of John Wesley's doctrine of Perfect Love, and maintained that he had done great service to the Church in holding up the grand ideal before the people. Methodism was not a republication of Protestantism, but a call to the Catholic ideal of holiness.

(c) Deliverance from sin. Knox held rather a noble view of human power,⁴ and yet he was impatient with the theologians who take a slight view of human depravity. He has on this account as much aversion "to the whole Socinian tribe",

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 246.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 249.

3. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 251.

4. Cf. also The Cambridge Platonists, Frederick J. Powicke.
p. 61.

as is consistent with good nature, and Christian charity, because it led to low views of moral sentiments. It is impossible to cherish a high conception of Christian perfection, without a deep sense of human depravity, no more than a lofty building can be erected upon a shallow foundation. Knox was very much alive to the depths of sin, but was critical of the Calvinists for dwelling upon the idea to the neglect of the ideal. He was like the Cambridge Platonists, in that he would encourage confidence to rise high, but unlike them, he did more justice to the belief that God is the initiating Agent from first to last in the process of salvation.

He does not lay claim to absolute sinlessness,¹ and in this he agrees with John Wesley. He interprets St. John's assertion that "whosoever is born of God, sinneth not", as follows; "he that is, really and truly, renewed, in the spirit of his mind, by the regenerating grace of Christ, possesses the power, of so effectually repressing all wrong motions within, and of resisting or guarding against all temptation from without, that, however sensible he may be of painful perturbations, and humbling deficiencies, it is his privilege to live, without bringing actual guilt on his conscience, and without yielding, even by volition, to the sins by which before, he was led captive: of consequence, without grieving the Holy Spirit, or creating an absolute estrangement".² This is an example of great care in the use of language. He does not describe it as

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox. Vol.I.p118.
 2. Ibid. Vol.I. p.119.

a state of absolute perfection but rather as a privilege, which may be lived up to; and he does not doubt that it has, and is, and will be, though perhaps in very few instances. This privilege is not sinlessness but uninterrupted fellowship with God, and the Christian need not forfeit this blessed privilege by voluntarily falling into sin and thereby creating a barrier between him and God.

He saw that John Wesley's definition of sin as being "the wilful transgression of a known law" was incomplete.¹ In acknowledging that his old friend seemed to have gone further than St. Augustine and St. Jerome, in that he insisted on living without sin, Knox points out that his sin cannot be identified with the 'peccatum', but rather with the 'crimen' of these Fathers. It "is not St. Augustine's, nor St. Jerome's 'peccatum'; but, on the contrary, quite indetifies with the *κακία*, or 'vitium' of the one, and the 'crimen' of the other";² and he reminds Jebb that St. Augustine had declared that a man may be "sine crimine", but not "sine peccato". This comparison of Wesley's teaching with that of the Fathers brings out very clearly the weakness in the former's definition of sin. "The wilful transgression of a known law" is incomplete. It only covers recognised transgressions, but experience shows that the worse kind of sin is often that which is allowed to pass as harmless, and when considered later in the light of

1. Cp. Dr. Newton Flew's admirable discussion of this in his "The Idea of Perfection", pp. 332 -3.

It is interesting to note that Knox had detected weakness in Wesley's conception of sin.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox. Vol. I. p. 133

perfect love is seen to be hideous and harmful. It is only slowly and after many experiments in the Christian laboratory that he learns to detect the germs of the disease. It follows then that the things in which he acquiesces in his innocence today, will on the morrow be regarded as grave offences.

Knox regarded the inclination toward sin as in itself evil, even before it becomes an act of the will, and that this recognition had the added advantage of being the best security against sin. He agrees that if the desire is resisted so as not to "grow into volition, it brings no condemnation,.....but" he adds "I am ready to think, that a feeling of its being sin,'in esse,'though not'in actu,'is essential to that very resistance".¹ This concept covers a wider, but scarcely a deeper sense of sin. It is guilty of the same formidable defect as that of Wesley's, in restricting sin to that which is known and recognised as evil. We cannot acquiesce in this distinction between conscious and unconscious sin.

The view of sin as including sinful tendencies and desires led Knox to reject Wesley's idea of entire deliverance from sin, yet he believed that their disagreement was over words, and that in substance they held the same view on this matter. He quotes a conversation with a Methodist preacher whom he asked; "Pray would you esteem him as materially differing from you, who would say, that, though he was not

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox. Vol.I
p. 166.

conscious of any wrong desires or volitions, yet the tendencies or temptations which he found in himself, though so resisted, as not to wound his conscience, appeared, nevertheless, to imply a remaining root of corruption, and of course to preclude the notion of entire deliverance from sin?". "I would not", says he "consider him that spoke so as differing from me; for I believe, that we must feel those things, while in the body". Knox remarks that he felt after this conversation that the dispute between them, as really a dispute of words and that in substance, the Methodists held only what Lucas contended for.¹

(d) Growth in knowledge. Knox regarded personal experience as the primary thing in religion, the 'sine qua non' of the Christian life; but he maintained that experience leads to reflection, and that this is indispensable to progress in Christian perfection. He would have had no sympathy with the familiar modern cry of "Religion without theology". The Christian is called to love God with all his mind as well as with all his heart, soul and strength. The nature of this knowledge is not that of a speculative interest which regards religion as a subject to be studied abstractedly. This attitude always leads to a disputatious spirit, which was alien to his temperament. He would insist that theology is not abstract and metaphysical, but personal and experimental. It is a wise exercise of the reasoning faculty, in order to assist the

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. I
p. 140.

Christian to understand more fully and more clearly his own experience and the means of grace. This kind of mental exercise has a steadying influence upon the Christian. It is, he says, "a state of mind, which will not materially fluctuate; which will not consist, merely, in feelings and affections, however sincere and genuine, but in such a clear, steady, matter of fact view of things divine and eternal, as will make him as coolly, calmly, deliberately, and reflectively religious, as the men of this world, who are wise in their generation".¹ We see him here as a Christian philosopher advocating a calm and deliberate reflection upon inner experience.

The method of obtaining knowledge of Divine and Eternal things is similar to the acquisition of truth in every other branch of knowledge. He seems in some of his writings to speak exclusively of discovering religious truths without a corresponding emphasis upon Divine revelation, as for example, when he says: "Truth must be sought; for, it is confessedly not instinctive: and, religious truth, (being of the same nature with truth in general), must be inquired after, as the truths which belong to any other art, or science, are sought, or the end will not be attained,"² but elsewhere he qualifies this teaching by stating that every advance implies Divine concurrence.³

He criticised the Mystics for want of growth in

1. Remains, Vol.I. p. 170.
 2. *ibid.* Vol.I. p. 221.
 3. *ibid.* Vol.I. p.342.

knowledge. They have advanced piety, but have neglected intellectual progress. He held that the Mystics worshipped God in spirit, but not in truth, and that they do the thing of set purpose and systematically reject truth in the very sense in which our Lord urges it. This is the commonly accepted view of the Mystics, but it is an unjust criticism based upon inadequate knowledge of the facts. St. Paul and St. Augustine were mystics, yet they were master minds whose theologies have had tremendous influence upon succeeding generations. Knox's general contention, however, that intellectual progress should accompany advance in piety, is perfectly sound. There cannot be full grown Christianity apart from the development of the whole personality. Where piety is stressed to the neglect of reflection, progress must inevitably be lop-sided and incomplete.

He maintains that growth in knowledge is necessary, because (1) the application of the mind to religion makes for maturity in goodness. The way to Christian perfection that depends upon affections will undoubtedly be sincere, but real progress will be arrested; because with the approach of middle life, ardour abates, enthusiasm flags which tend to a cooling of the affections. Consequently, the Christian who neglects mental effort will decline with the advance of years, and further as he epigrammatically puts it, "an unoccupied mind is likely, soon, to be an ill-occupied mind".¹ He is also convinced

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 169.

that Christian perfection provides food for the mind or else religion would not be adapted to human nature. The individual would leave Christianity behind him, when he would be stimulated to any intellectual career, and this would make religion obsolete in an advancing intellectual world. (2) It guards against error. He would give his wholehearted approval to St. Bernard's dictum, "learning without love inflates, love without learning errs".¹

This statement presents a perfect balance in the growth towards Christian perfection. It guards on the one hand, against the attitude of mind that would consider religion merely as a subject for speculative enquiry; and on the other hand, against the excitement of a merely emotional religion. Knox contended for this balance of mind and emotion. He considered the whole panorama of Christian theology, but throughout it was a theology of experience, and like Wesley, his main interest was in those truths that pertain to man's salvation. He loathed the disputatious spirit of his age, and he also guarded against latitudinarianism. Knox concentrated his attention upon those matters in the spiritual laboratory of the Saints, which were helpful in the pursuit of holiness and the culture of the spiritual life.

(e) Dominion over the world. Knox forestalled the teaching of Ritschl that Christian perfection implied mastery over the world. "The chief mark of perfection" in Ritschl's thought "is that the Christian exercised dominion

1. Quoted by Prof. H. Watt in his Lectures on the Mystics.

over the world".¹ This was, though perhaps unconsciously, a development of Luther's thought of lordship over the world. The Reformation brought the holy life from the cloister into the open,² and Knox was definitely in line with the Reformers on this matter. It was an attempt on his part to restate St. Paul's idea, "all things are yours". There is nothing fantastic in it. It means confidence gained through Christ that the believer belongs to God, and that gives him independence of the world.

Knox's insistence on dominion over the world shows his advance on Wesley's teaching. The latter has a dismal passage in his sermon on "Is there no balm in Gilead ?"³ He has noticed signs of increasing worldliness among his wealthier followers that seems to make him almost despair of Christianity. "How astonishing a thing," says he, "is this ? How can we understand it? Does it not seem (and yet this cannot be) that Christianity, true, scriptural Christianity, has a tendency, in the process of time, to undermine and destroy itself? For wherever true Christianity spreads, it must cause diligence and frugality; which, in the natural course of things, must beget riches; and riches naturally beget pride, love of the world, and every temper that is destructive of Christianity. Now, if there be no way to prevent this, Christianity is inconsistent with

1. The Idea of Perfection, Dr. R. Newton Flew. p. 379.

2. Ibid. p. 251.

3. Works of John Wesley, Vol. VII, pp. 281 - 290.

itself, and, of consequence, cannot stand, cannot continue long among any people: since, wherever it generally prevails, it saps its own foundation".¹ This is a dreadfully depressing thought, and if well founded as Knox points out, it means that Christianity contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. It lifts a man up from a wasteful life of sin, puts him on his feet, so that he acquires good habits which are less expensive. It makes him diligent and he becomes rich; then worldliness creeps in. This problem gave Wesley cause for great concern. He endeavoured to ease the problem by advising his followers to give their riches to others as rapidly as they made it, but Knox could not agree to such a solution or rather partial solution because it only dealt with circumstances and not with the substance. It failed to tackle the real cause of the difficulty. There was to him something radically wrong with religion, if it failed to enable a man to triumph over prosperity as well as over adversity. A spiritual Christian ought to be able to remain heavenly minded amidst his affluence, and, he claims that this has been done: that numbers of people have held high positions, both in rank and fortune and "yet they did not love that world which they possessed".² Knox himself had never experienced poverty, and most of his intimate friends like the La Touches, were wealthy people. And the

1. Remains. vol. I. p. 79. Cf. Wesley's Works, Vol. VII, p. 290.
 2. Ibid. vol. I. p. 88.

Clapham sect, with whom he was very friendly, were notorious for their wealth; and yet these were saintly people who never allowed their possessions to possess them. Experience and observation led him to seek the real cause of the evil elsewhere than in outward circumstances. He finds that it is the result of a defective doctrine of Christian perfection, and of the methods of attaining it. He agreed that Wesley's observation was quite true as far as the sects were concerned, because they have made it their chief business to bring home the prodigal, and have somewhat neglected the task of strengthening the love and affection of those already at home, to their Father. It was in short the neglect of the cultivation of the devotional life. This constituted a formidable defect in Wesley's teaching on Christian perfection, and its results must have been discouraging to him, as is echoed in the closing passage in his sermon on "Friendship with the World". "Look round," says he, "and see the melancholy effects among our brethren; how many of the mighty are fallen! They would take no warning; they would converse, and that intimately with earthly-minded men, till they measured back their steps to earth again".¹

Knox realised the danger of worldly intercourse, and was strongly opposed to Christians mingling indiscriminately with the world, yet he firmly believed that it was wrong to cut away from the world. He held no brief for the life of the

1. Wesley's Works, Vol. VI, p. 463.

cloister, and would agree with Francis de Sales that "it is an error, nay rather a heresy, to wish to banish the devout life from the army, from the workshop, from the courts of princes, from the households of married folk".¹ This is obviously an extremely difficult task. It is one thing to mingle with the world, it is quite another to preserve one's purity. Christians may feel at liberty to go anywhere, to do anything, and to read anything on the score that "to the pure all things are pure", but experience proves that this is not easy. Still it is possible and the secret of triumph lies as Knox points out in the cultivation of the devotional life that will leave no unguarded spots. The Christian must go out into the world with "the whole armour of God". This habit of life will change his whole attitude towards the world. "He will not go out into worldly company for pleasure because his taste is of quite another kind: but, he will not shrink from the calls of duty, or propriety: because, he scarcely fears the world more than he loves it".² The Christian therefore, according to Knox goes into **worldly** company from a sense of duty. He does not enter it in order to participate in its pleasures, for his tastes are of a higher order. He is animated by the sole motive of spreading Christianity, and uses every available opportunity for this purpose. He departs from his private or public sanctuary, but never does he

1. Quoted by Dr. R. Newton Flew in The Idea of Perfection. p.259.
 2. Remains vol. I. p. 136.

willingly forsake the inner sanctuary of the soul. Never will he enter worldly company without his invisible shelter and support, and with God all things are possible. This is sound and sober teaching. It is in keeping with the teaching and example of our Lord, who would not remain on the mountain top of Transfiguration, but rather descended to the valley to heal, to comfort and to bless.

Knox, however, was sounder on this point in his teaching than in his example. He had himself forsaken public life for the life of a recluse, and, whilst he undoubtedly rendered greater service to the Church in the kind of life he chose than he would have done had he remained in politics, nevertheless the fact remains that he literally forsook the world for the cloistered life. He did not combine both to the same degree as the members of the Clapham sect. He paid more heed to John Wesley's warning than he imagined. He only had very occasional intercourse with worldly company, and when he found that company unwilling to converse upon experimental religion, he soon departed. He ever remembered that he had "an undying soul to save". This only goes to prove the difficulty of maintaining an equal balance between "visiting the fatherless and the widow, and to keep himself unspotted from the world".

Section iii: The Means and Methods of Attaining Christian Perfection.

(a) The Means. Wesley connected the attainment of the Christian ideal more directly with the believers'

experience of Christ crucified than any other teacher of perfection.¹ The truth of this statement is borne out in Knox's teaching, which shifts the emphasis from the Cross to that of the indwelling Christ. He was influenced in this matter by the Cambridge Platonists, and like them for the same reason. It was a re-action against a complacent class of Christians, who, certain of their favour with God, because they were certain of their orthodoxy, spoke confidently of the work of Christ for them, and about their calling and election. He further concurred with them in a subjective view of the Atonement, in that the Cross reconciled men to God and not God to men. He explained the existence of sacrifice in the Old Testament not as of Divine appointment, but rather he thinks that man might have conceived the first thought of sacrifice, and that Divine condescension might have recognised and sanctioned the practice.²

He emphasised the necessity of the Cross, because (1) it reveals the love of God. (2) It reveals the hideousness of sin. (3) It supplies a counter-attraction to the glamour of sin. Man is by nature selfish and his unconsecrated instincts seek their gratification in animal ways. What, therefore, we need is some counter-attraction, and Knox sees this in the Cross, which "is strong enough to resist the gravitation of our lower nature, and aid the immortal mind, in rising towards its native

1. The Idea of Perfection by Dr.R.Newton Flew. p. 330.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox. VOL.1.p342.

heaven".¹ (4) The counter-attraction must be conspicuous ², and this is exactly what he finds. Nothing could be more attractive than a crucified God incarnate, and Christ did not die in an obscure secluded corner, but upon a hilltop. He"could not be hid".

Christ is our Redeemer:-(1) By what He did for us in His suffering on the Cross. This was a complete and perfect act, but, and this is what Knox emphasised, it was a preliminary act and by no means can it be taken as a pledge of actual and individual salvation. The Cross "makes this blessing attainable: it removes every pre-existing obstacle: it procures every pre-requisite: but it does not confer the blessing itself. It opens the door of God's treasure-house: it provides us with every means of entry: but we must use the means: we must ourselves enter, and personally obtain the treasure: otherwise, what was done once for all, on our behalf, shall, in our instance, have been done in vain.... everything done generally and once for all amounts, in my mind, only to Salvability".³ He, therefore, holds that exclusive reliance upon what Christ did once for all can assure the individual of nothing beyond salvability, that is, the possibility of salvation. This sounds rather a strange doctrine to those who have been brought up in an

1. Remains, Vol. II. p 342.
 2. Ibid. Vol. II. p.346.
 3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 41.

Evangelical Church, where the centrality of the Cross is emphasised and the Atonement has had a prominent place in its teaching, and yet when it is realised that salvation to Knox meant, not merely forgiveness of past sins, but also actual redemption from iniquity, a purification of heart and mind, and a purging of the springs of desire, till the believer loves only the things of God, the influence of the doctrine of Christian perfection upon his conception of the Cross is plainly revealed.

(2) By what He does in us. This is the second way in which Christ is held to be our Redeemer, and it is different from the former in that it is a process and not an act: something present and not something past. It is His present gracious operation. This is the aspect of redemption which was stressed most by Knox. The Cross was a complete act in the sense that our Lord accomplished everything that was necessary by way of preparation, but it did not complete our salvation, "the work wrought by Omnipotent Grace within us, and upon us: in our minds, and hearts and lives: together with the infallible consequences of this work, here and hereafter, can alone realise the idea of salvation"¹. He saw the danger of neglecting the pursuit of holiness by relying exclusively upon the Cross. He admits that it does not necessarily lead to this, but that its tendency is to overlook moral excellence as the Christian's

1. Remains, Vol.II. p. 42.

indispensable and supreme concern. It is because of this danger of relegating rectitude to a secondary place, that he would lay greater stress on the In-dwelling Christ rather than on the death of Christ. What Christ does in us rather than what He did for us. The consciousness of the In-dwelling Christ cleanses, sustains, perfects and deepens the devotional life. It stimulates the pursuit of the higher calling by directing the gaze of the Christian to the grand ideal that is before him, rather than a looking back to the work that was done for him. The concentration of attention upon the living Christ leads the believer to remember with humble gratitude the suffering of Christ on the Cross, rather than to an exclusive reliance upon it for his salvation.

Knox's teaching exposes the weakness of the Evangelical doctrine, but in his effort to combat this weakness, he went to the other extreme. The shifting of emphasis from the Atonement to the In-dwelling Christ is fraught with difficulties and dangers. It is impossible to view the Cross exclusively in the light of Christian perfection without causing a formidable weakness in theology. The regenerated person is not free from frailties, and even lapses at the beginning of his progress towards holiness. He passes through a struggling stage and often stumbles on the way, and even when he reaches the higher stages, he cannot lay claim to absolute sinlessness:

daily and hourly he feels the need of forgiveness of sins. Has the Cross no healing power for him ? Is there no message of comfort to the weak and fallen ? Knox's system of theology seems to reply in the negative. The troubled conscience is apparently denied the right of flying to the Cross. There is no room for a contrite heart. This is a serious defect in his teaching. The feeling of sin always leads to the Cross, and as Dr. Pusey said: "it would bring but despair to review our sins except at the foot of the Cross". Knox creates the impression that he would leave the Christian in despair. Doubtless, he had no wish to go to such lengths, and the extravagant language he sometimes used was due to his strenuous effort to combat the extreme view of exclusive reliance on the Cross. And in fairness to him it must be pointed out that he did not completely overlook the Evangelical view, for he himself prayed for forgiveness, and further he had no desire to push the Cross into the background. He speaks of it as "the central object of religious regard", as "a masterpiece of Omniscent skill, which operates through the widest sphere and with every necessary variety of effect: awing the careless, softening the obdurate, humbling the proud, giving tenderness to virtue, elevation to piety, intensity to devotion, perfection to purity: in a word, cementing the visible Church by its resistless attraction: and quickening the Invisible Church by its Omnipotent energy".¹ This passage demonstrates beyond a shadow

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 347.

of doubt that he recognised in the Cross, a power that both changes the life of the unregenerate, and purifies the life of the believer. He saw the love of God in the dying Redeemer presenting the very opposite to human indulgence and selfishness and he realised that when once that love was apprehended, through the aid of the Holy Spirit, man becomes utterly ashamed of himself, leaves the old life and cleaves to the new. The Cross is a "medicine for the soul, and an antidote to the poison of sin".¹ The believer ought not and must not remain in the condition of immediate post conversion, but must move on to perfection, and throughout the remedy of the Cross must be supplied in fellowship with the living Lord.

(b) Methods of Piety. Knox's main criticism of Methodism was in its method of attaining Christian perfection. I have already endeavoured to show that he had many points of agreement with John Wesley on the doctrine, and Dr.Brillioth was unquestionably right in maintaining that he inherited the idea from his early teacher.² He was however too much of an original thinker to follow any one slavishly, and whilst he was not ungrateful for what he owed to Methodism in general and to John Wesley in particular, he "never called Mr.Wesley, Rabbi".³ He gives the Methodists all credit for making first impressions, but he "cannot regard them as equally fitted for leading the true Christian onward. In theory, I own, they maintain

1. Remains, Vol.II. p.356.

2. The Anglican Revival, by Rev.Yngue Brillioth.D. Ph., p. 46.

3. Remains. Vol.I. p. 71.

Christian perfection: but, I doubt the tendency of their common methods of piety, to multiply living instances of it".¹ He observed that the defects comprised (1) Excessive activity. Many Methodists showed their love and loyalty to their Redeemer and Lord in a busy bustle of Sunday Schools, in leading classes, and in shepherding those committed to their charge. He did not object to these lay pastorates, provided they were well managed, but he did feel that in practice it was stressing service to the comparative neglect of devotion. The layman was engaged in his occupation for six days of the week, and if on Sundays he gave his whole attention to the vineyards of others he would find his own vineyard badly neglected. (2) He considered that they had developed excessive preference for "social piety". He desired to see more self-direction on the part of individual Methodists, and a greater emphasis on the culture of private devotion, which is indispensable to the growth of the spiritual life. He regarded private devotions more important than public worship. "He that desires and is pursuing this blessing, must rather seek it in his closet, and in his heart..... than even in the assembly of the righteous. He will not forsake this. In one way or another, he will still, as he is situated, cultivate the communion of saints. But, when he takes an active part, it will be to do good, rather than to get good.... when he is a hearer, it will be to him, perhaps, more a recreation and exercise to

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 65.

his mind, than a means of grace".¹ (3) He believed that Methodists over-emphasised evangelicalism to the comparative neglect of holiness, so that,"in theory, they maintain Christian perfection", in practice, they inclined to overlook its importance. It was in danger of degenerating into "a kind of bellows-blowing method".² He saw that this tendency was more marked among the English Methodists than their Irish brethren, and further that this shifting of emphasis had actually taken place during the life-time of John Wesley, who had striven to correct it,³ by his untiring efforts to maintain the vital importance of the cultivation of the life of holiness. It had, however, become so busily engaged in bringing home the prodigal that it was in danger of neglecting its own soul.

Knox's criticism of Methodists was calculated to leave the impression upon them that he favoured the quietistic error of the Pietists; that of abstaining from religious observances. There is further evidence that his teaching savoured of this error in his opposition to missionary plans, because they "tended to make religion appear to the world a business of bustle, and to have something of a revolutionary character".⁴ He preferred the quiet Moravian Missions, which if not so effectual, were at least unobjectionable in that they were heard of at a distance, but made no show at home. "I think," he says,

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 66.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 172.

3. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol. I. p. 169

4. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 172.

"over-activity is the grand malady of the times".¹ Whilst he does not object to missionary work, he dislikes the method of conducting them, and believes that the Church should first come to an agreement at home on questions of doctrine, before it busies itself with the heathen. There is no doubt that the divisions in the Church have been a great handicap to the work overseas, still it was well that the Church did not postpone its operations in accordance with Knox's advice, or we could not to-day look back upon the last century as the great, if not the greatest missionary century in the Christian Church. Bishop Daly detected this error in Knox's teaching, and in his letter to Archbishop Whateley, he writes: "if there was one feature above another to be observed and lamented in that school, it was a determined aversion to all religious activity, and a standing off from those whose love for a Saviour led them rather to active exertions in His cause than to the quietism of contemplative devotion".² When we recall that it was this strange doctrine of "stillness" that had caused the early Methodists to break away from the Moravians,³ it is no wonder that many Methodists suspected his teaching. Someone once asked Baron von Hügel, "What is religion"? to which he replied "Religion is adoration"⁴. This is too narrow a conception of religion, unless it is taken in the sense that all Christian service should be regarded as an act of worship to Almighty God.⁵

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox. Vol. I. p. 170

2. Memoir of Rt. Rev. R. Daly by Mrs Hamilton Madden, p. 34.

3. The Idea of Perfection, by Dr. R. Newton Flew. p. 278.

4. Baron von Hügel. A Memoir and Selected Letters. p. 51.

5. The Vision of God, by Rev. K. E. Kirk. D.D., p. 445 - 451.

This is no doubt the high calling of the Christian and enables him to continue his services among his neighbours when it is least appreciated, but the service itself is the duty of every Christian. Knox went to extremes in emphasising contemplative devotion. It should, however, be stated that he did not abstain from public worship, nor did he deprecate outward engagements except in so far as they crowded out the one thing needful, which to him was Christian perfection. He had seen very clearly the direction in which Methodism was moving, and strove to bring it back into line with the teaching of its human founder. In this effort he stressed the other extreme in order to call attention to it, as John Henry Newman said, the bow must be bent over in the other direction, in order to straighten it. Knox stated that Methodism of his day was in danger of neglecting Christian perfection. Was this a real or imaginary danger.? Had he any grounds for his fears ? We cannot accept a subjective testimony of this kind without corroborative evidence. It is true that Methodism had its Band Meetings, which specially aimed at the exercise of the life of holiness, and that it can claim to have had Saints within its Communion, and yet it is doubtful whether it has emphasised Christian perfection as much as Evangelicalism. It has certainly kept the latter to the fore, but he would be a bold man to declare that it has maintained a similar emphasis upon the former. Dr.R.Newton Flew makes no claim that modern

Methodism is worthy of its great tradition.¹ Be this as it may, Knox's emphasis was of major importance even when it is considered only in the light of Evangelicalism, for the pursuit of holiness is a necessity to maintain the passion for soul~~a~~. The quest of perfect love became the driving force of evangelism in the Wesleys. It was indeed here they began. They were first awakened to the value of the devotional books of Thomas à Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, and William Law. They saw in them the urgent necessity of growth in the spiritual life, which led them to a passionate striving after perfect love. This in its turn led them to rediscover the converting grace of God and constrained them to go forth to proclaim the redeeming love of God to their unredeemed brethren. It was the pursuit of holiness that kindled the flame of love in their hearts, and kept it glowing till their dying day. "Wherever", says Wesley, "the work of sanctification increases the whole work of God increased in all its branches".

Knox's criticisms of Methodism were the wounds of a friend. It was his deep and sincere love for it, and what he owed to it, that prompted him to utter a word of warning. He defined Methodism "in its most generic sense to be, that spiritual view of religion which implies an habitual devotedness to God, both of the heart and conduct so as to indispose for all fashionable pleasures and gaieties, to lead to habitual self-

1. Northern Catholicism, ed. by N.P. Williams and C. Harris
 article by Dr. R. Newton Flew. p. 529.

denial, and to aim, not only at rectitude and peace, but at 'joy in the Holy Ghost', from a consciousness of what St. Paul calls the *Πνεῦμα Ὁμοθεσίας*.¹ This definition puts forth the substance of Methodism. It implies the evangelical conversion and the tradition of holiness. He perceived the real greatness of Wesley in that he saw more clearly than anyone before him this compendious view of Christianity. The two age long streams evangelical experience of conversion and the tradition of holiness, which had flowed separately for centuries, converged in him. Wesley effected a union of grace and holiness, "never, elsewhere, except in the Apostles themselves, and in the sacred books they have left, were the true foundation, and the sublime superstructure of Christianity, so effectually united".²

1. **Remains** , Vol. IV. p. 105.

2. *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 74.

CHAPTER 11.
-----THE SACRAMENTS.

The principal concern in this chapter will be an attempt to present and analyse Knox's doctrine of the Eucharist; to show his agreement and disagreement with his predecessors, particularly the Wesleys, and to endeavour to point out his distinctive teaching on this most difficult subject. Knox's meditations on the Lord's Supper and on Baptism are to be found, in the main, in his Treatise on the former with a Prefatory Note and Postscript, and in two chapters on the latter, rather than in scattered references to the subject as in the case of the subjects treated in the other chapters. Whilst the task of dealing with this subject is on that account somewhat simplified, it is, nevertheless, complicated by the fact that it is difficult to place his theory in any well defined category. In a letter to Bishop Jebb written on January 9th, 1826, he states that his object in his Tract on the Eucharist was "not to make out support for favourite notions of my own, but to extract the import of the text itself, independently of party interpretation". He adds, that he put forward those views tentatively, "for, until my notions have been examined strictly by some competent judge, I have no right to esteem them more than probable conceptions". ¹

1. Remains, Vol.IV.p.460.

That his conception should create interest, and arouse some protest, is quite natural with his claim to independent views. He says that he had received a letter of protest in which the person "speaks very strongly: but very charitably and courteously".¹ There were others who warmly appreciated his work. Bishop Jebb gave his unqualified tribute, "I shall be anxious", says he, "to receive a complete copy of your thoughts on the Eucharistic symbols. My opinion is, that into the small compass of the pages now in my hands, you have compressed more good sense and sound theology than are contained in any ten bulky volumes of former writers on the subject. I particularly admire your clearness and freedom from all intricacy and involution".² Southey gave it a very warm tribute in the 'Quarterly Review'.³ John Keble wrote in 1838 that Knox "did the world great service by his Treatise on the Eucharist".⁴ Doctor Maclagan, Archbishop of York, was a devoted student of Knox, and in 1905 published his Treatise on the Use and the Import of the Eucharistic Symbols, his Prefatory Letter and Postscript together with his letters on the doctrine of Baptism,⁵ because, he says, he was anxious that others might be introduced to and receive blessing from Knox's thoughts. Before I enter on the difficult task of presenting and analysing his views on the Eucharist, I will deal briefly with his conception of Baptism.

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 460.

2. Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 409.

3. Quarterly Review for January 1828, cf. Vol. XXXVII, p. 217 (foot -

4. Life of John Keble, by T.J. Coleridge, p. 242. (note)

5. The Grace of the Sacraments, being treatises on baptism and the Eucharist, edited with a Preface by Dr. W.D. Maclagan.

Section i: Doctrine of Baptism.

Knox's treatment of this theme is marked throughout by clarity of thought and expression.

(a) He distinguishes between sacramental and spiritual regeneration. The former implies a ~~certain~~ circumstantial change only, brought about by the outward and visible sign. The latter implies an inward blessing in the best and happiest sense. The germ of the spiritual life is implanted, which, given care and protection will grow and ripen to its fulness. Baptism is, therefore, regeneration. In the former sense, the receiver has as a result of the ordinance, become at least formerly a member of Christ's visible Church, though it does not necessarily follow that he has undergone an inward and spiritual change. He has, however, "contracted relations which are indelible; and which tend, according as they are improved or abused, to infinite advantage, or to infinite calamity".¹ He has, therefore, no doubt that baptism implies sacramental regeneration, but "if regeneration be understood in a deeper and more inward sense, if it be taken for that 'spiritual regeneration',.....then it will be necessary to enquire, whether it be possible to maintain, on any ground of rational consistency, that baptism is, in that sense, regeneration".²

(b) He distinguishes between the use of the word

1. Remains vol. 1. p. 443.

2. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 446.

"baptism" for the entire sacrament, including both the outward sign and the inward grace, and the word, as employed for the outward ordinance only. The latter he identifies with regeneration in the sense of circumstantial change, while the former implies spiritual regeneration, and is not identical with the ordinance but is the result of heavenly grace which may be lost. He finds this distinction set forth in the Church of England Catechism and Baptismal Service. The former speaks of the Catechumen being made a member of Christ and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven; whilst in the latter the minister prays for the infant, that he "coming to God's holy baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration": thus baptism is sometimes used comprehensively, for the entire sacrament, including not only the outward and visible sign, but the inward and spiritual grace. At other times it is used distinctly for the outward ordinance, which it is always within human competency to administer.... to all susceptible receivers.¹

(c) He draws a comparison between the Church of England Services for baptism of infants and that of adults. In the case of adults the concurrence of the spiritual grace is conditional; whereas with infants it is unconditional. In the former repentance and faith are required, and where they are wanting, the beneficial results are in consequence absent. There can be no neutrality. In the latter, they infallibly

1. Remains vol. 1. p. 446-7.

receive the inward and spiritual grace because a child can place no bar against it. He considers that this heavenly grace is not meant to be prospective and therefore conditional, but rather immediate and infallible. In support of this view he refers first, to the prayer "Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin". "These words", he says, "contemplate an actual operation of divine power, through the appointed instrument, wherever there is no bar in the subject. They imply heavenly influence to unite itself with the water, and to make the ablution of the body effectual, through the concurrence, to the purification of the soul".¹ In the second place, he urges that more decisive evidence is found in the language of the prayer of thanksgiving, "to the Father of mercy, for having regenerated the baptised infant with His Holy Spirit, and for having received him for His own child by adoption".² He holds that the case is different with adults and that may be observed in the variation of language in the Service for adults, where God is not thanked as in the case of infants for having regenerated them by His Holy Spirit.³ There is also a distinct alteration in the language of exhortation to the adults, "doubt ye not, but earnestly believe that He will favourably receive these present persons, truly repenting, and coming unto Him by faith".⁴

(d) Spiritual regeneration may be forfeited and lost.

1. Remains, Vol. I. p.456.
2. Ibid. Vol. I. p.457.
3. Ibid. Vol. I. p.458.
4. Ibid. Vol. I. p.459.

Knox had no delusions about the necessity of evangelical conversion to those, who though baptised, yet lived selfish and unclean lives. To him spiritual grace produces its fruit in the regulation of the affection, temper and conduct. "It is a character given to the inner man, which if retained, must manifest itself by corresponding results; and which cannot co-exist with the predominance of sin".¹ These characteristics of spiritual regeneration are implied in the words "remission of sins", because slavery to sin, and remission of sins, are perfectly incompatible with each other. It follows then "that if remission of sins be lost by yielding to further temptation, spiritual regeneration, which involves remission of sin, must be lost also". He declares the possibility of this forfeiture very clearly in his distinction between baptism as an indelible badge of the Christian profession, and baptism as spiritual regeneration. "Now, as this forfeiture is undeniably incurred, by numberless persons who had been baptised, it follows of necessity, that to have been baptised, and to be spiritually regenerated, are two distinct and separable descriptions; the former of which we may readily believe, can never be lost, by the person who has once received it; whereas the very nature of the latter, so evinces it to be perishable, that to deny it to be perishable is to rob it of its essential character. Spiritual regeneration would be anything but spiritual, if it could be retained by a willing votary of the world, the flesh, or the Devil".² The 16th Article confirms the teaching of the

1. Remains, Vol. I. p.447.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. pp.447-8.

Church of England, "after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin".¹ Further the Catechism says, "I heartily thank God our heavenly Father, that He hath called me to this state of salvation; and I pray unto God to give me grace, that I may continue in the same unto my life's end".² There would be no meaning to such a prayer, unless there was the possibility of forfeiting the grace given at baptism.

(e) The "vital germ" with its possibilities of growth into a full grown Christian life, may wither and die. It will not grow of itself, but if carefully attended, under Divine aid, will expand and develop. "That such a pregnant principle of good should remain, at once, undeveloped, and uninjured, during the period of infancy and childish weakness... it certainly cannot be thought that that holy and heavenly tendency, which baptismal grace.... necessarily implies, should continue to be possessed, when the time has arrived for reason and conscience to do their duty; and when, instead of being listened to, they are resisted and trampled on.but, if it be grossly and obstinately resisted, its extinction must ensue".³

The above extracts make it abundantly clear as to the position of Knox in regard to baptismal regeneration. Whilst he emphasised the instrumental aspect of the Sacrament,

1. Remains, Vol. I. p.449
 2. Ibid. Vol. I. p.450.
 3. Ibid. Vol. I. pp.467-8.

and that in the case of infants the spiritual blessing was unconditional, yet he did not conceive of it as a guarantee of final salvation. It was no pass-port to heaven, because it could be forfeited, and once lost, restoration was only possible by an evangelical conversion. That the Church of England doctrine teaches baptismal regeneration was questioned and denied later in the century. This was the vital issue in the famous Gorham case, following upon the refusal of the Bishop of Exeter in 1847, to institute the Rev.C.G.Gorham for his denial of baptismal regeneration. The bishops found him guilty of unorthodoxy, but when he finally appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the verdict was reversed. James Mozley devoted four years to the study of the whole question, and finally came to the conclusion that statements such as "this child is now regenerate" (Baptismal Service) and "made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven", (Catechism) "belong to a class of statements which are 'literal in form, but hypothetical in meaning'",¹ so he denied that regeneration of all baptised infants is an article of the Church of England faith. The Rev. S.C.Carpenter comments that "this is an academic conclusion". It would certainly not be to the credit of the framers of the above statement to have had such a meaning in mind, and to have expressed it with such language to Catechists. Knox's interpretation of the Church of England doctrine is more convincing, and this seems to have been the

1. Church and People by S.C.Carpenter. p. 205.

explanation of William Goode, when he stated, that "the great and all-important doctrine to be contended for is that an adult is not necessarily in a state of regeneration because he was baptised as an infant", and Dr. Pusey made the following comment on it; "If Mr. Goode means by this that an adult is not necessarily in a state of grace, and so may require a solid and entire conversion, notwithstanding the gift of God in Baptism, no Christian instructed in the first principles of the Faith would contend with him".¹

(f) Knox claims that the teaching of the Church of England is Catholic. Whilst it may be asserted that the Fathers taught that baptism is regeneration, Knox reminds us that it should be noted, that at first the outward rite was only administered to qualified recipients. It was a time when only the sincere would be attracted to Christianity because there was so much persecution of the Christians. But even the Fathers acknowledged that in certain instances the inward experience was unconnected with the sacramental rite. Knox supports his contention by quotations from the Fathers.²

Section ii: The Eucharist.

Knox found the heart and centre of his religion in the Eucharist. He laid special emphasis upon the operation of supernatural power in the Sacraments. "There is", says Knox, "a two-fold knowledge of Christ, one is acquired by mental

1. Infant Baptism by W. Goode. p. 175; and Life of Dr. Pusey by H. P. Liddon, Vol. III, p. 236, also quoted by S. C. Carpenter in his Church and People, p. 200.
 2. Remains, Vol. I. p. 442.

apprehension, the other is received, or rather communicated to a passive receiver". The former is truth, and the method of its acquisition is similar to that of the scientist's; whereas the latter is grace and depends not upon human effort, but upon divine action. In the Sacraments grace is received and therefore omnipotence is the active Agent.

The main points of his teaching may now be considered.

(a) The Divine Action.

(1) Emphasis upon consecration. It is through the act of consecration that the elements become the communion of the body and of the blood of Christ. They are sanctified for a high and holy purpose, and thus set apart for that which they were divinely appointed. The consecration, however, is a divine act, for it is "His divine power" that "qualifies them to convey the heavenly virtue".¹ Consecration is effected not only by reciting the words of the institution, but by the prayer of invocation.

(2) The grace is annexed to the elements. The divine influence is not to be associated with the act of receiving, but rather with the elements themselves. The Eucharistic symbols become "the actual vehicles of divine influence". Here he has recourse to the Apostle Paul's teaching, in that he claims it directs attention, "not to the act, but to the elements." "The elements, from the moment of their being solemnly set apart,

1. Remains, Vol.II. p. 194.

were in St. Paul's judgement no longer to be regarded as common material substances, but as mysterious representatives of our Redeemer's body and blood, through which the faithful recipient effectually participates in the thing represented".¹

(3) The manner of combination is beyond human comprehension. The human mind is unable to explain the way in which the divine energy is annexed to the visible medium. Here man must be silent before the mysterious working of God. He finds an analogy to it in the Incarnation. "It is as difficult to conceive how Deity united itself with a human person, and dwelt in an animal body, as to explain how the communications of our Saviour's spiritual influences can be made, through the substances of bread and wine. But if we admit the former mystery, we cannot consistently deny the possibility of the latter."² He stresses this mysterious connection between the visible signs and the invisible blessing.

(4) The symbols represent the body and blood of Christ. He speaks of them as "the permanent representatives of incarnate person".³ Jesus called the Eucharistic bread His body in a similar sense to that in which He called the temple His body: "in calling His body a temple, He declared it to be the habitation of Deity. In calling the bread His body, He could not mean less, than it was His representative body".⁴

(5) The symbols are effective instruments. He

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 370.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 375.

3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 139.

4. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 381.

speaks of them as "vehicles of grace", and quoting from St. John's Gospel, Chapter VI, on the assumption that it deals with the Eucharist, he maintains that Christ ascribed to the consecrated elements instrumental effectiveness, for being the representatives of the body and the blood of Christ, "they are divine instruments of conveying what they represent".¹ The divine influence is actually transmitted through the elements. He emphasises the instrumental aspect of the Eucharist throughout, and whilst he does not deny the symbolic aspect, it some times fades away almost to a vanishing point.

(6) The symbols are conduits of Christ. He claims to go a step further and describes them not only as instruments, but also as channels to convey Christ Himself. Behind these lowly elements of bread and wine, the Redeemer is concealed. They are the humble veils of His glory, which was revealed in its fulness in the flesh to the disciples. He says that "they are much more than instruments in His hand", they are "in the most exalted sense, conduits, not only from, but of, Himself".²

(7) It is a spiritual participation. He denies any such idea as the carnal eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ. The whole process is on a spiritual plane. The precise import, he maintains that our Lord gave to the Eucharistic elements is "that it was a visible method, appointed by Him, of spiritually eating His flesh, and spiritually drinking His blood; and that it must accordingly derive its spiritual

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 373.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 387.

efficacy, from the concomitancy of His omnipotent power".¹

(8) The special presence of Christ. God has always been pleased to make Himself felt and known by His special presence and operation. Under the old dispensation God employed the pillar of cloud and the mysterious ark as symbols of His special presence, so in the Christian dispensation, their counterpart is found in the Eucharist. "The Eucharistic institution is the pledge, the token, and the medium, of our Redeemer's peculiar presence and special operation; that the promises, 'Lo, I am with you always', and 'where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of you', have, in this sacrament, by reason of its exalted purpose, and vital effect, their noblest and most appropriate fulfilment".²

He brings out very clearly the doctrine of the Real Presence. The faithful believer has communion with "the incarnate Messiah's body and blood". In this Sacrament Christ is "revisiting His people, as effectually, though invisibly, as He came to His Apostles, when the doors were shut, for fear of the Jews; coming, - as it becomes Immanuel, God with us, to come, for a purpose, in which all His former acts are made effectual".³ Christ therefore revisits His people in the Eucharist as in His Resurrection appearances.

(9) It is an accommodation to human exigencies. He affirms that God needs no instrument to accomplish His gracious

1. Remains, Vol.II. p.186.

2. Ibid. Vol.II. p.386.

3. Ibid. Vol.II. p.388.

work, He speaks and it is done, but a visible medium is suitable to human weakness and God has been pleased to employ instruments to effect His work. That these visible means were not restricted to Old Testament times, is attested by the fact that the Gospel commenced in an accommodation to human weakness. He sees this in the Incarnation which "was in the first instance, so to consult human nature, in its animal and sensitive capacity, as to give the strongest pledge, that a dispensation, thus introduced, would, in every subordinate provision, manifest the same spirit, and operate on the same principle".¹ He, therefore, maintained that though the Gospel is purely spiritual in its end, it employs means suitable to the mixed nature of man. So he concludes that "on the same wise and gracious consideration, which induced divine nature to enshrine itself in a human person, that, through that medium, there might be a more familiar, more impressive, and more engaging communication of God with man; it would be deemed by the divine wisdom and goodness, most suitable to man's natural feelings and conceptions, to convey to him the special influences of incarnate Deity, through a medium, similarly adapted to his imagination and his senses ? And when we believe, that He, who was God over all, united Himself to so low a thing as human flesh, in order to become the fountain of those influences, we surely need not question the credibility of His conveying those influences, through any other work of His own hands, which He saw it fit to appoint".²

1. Remains, Vol.II. p.205.

2. Ibid. Vol.II. p.206.

(10) It is the peculiarly appointed medium for salvation. In his treatise "On the nature of our salvation through Christ", he devotes the latter part to an elucidation of the doctrine of the Sacraments, particularly the Eucharist. There he claims to set forth another redemption. "No one doubts", he says, "that Christ redeemed mankind, once for all, by the meritorious efficacy of His incarnation, and obedience unto death". But in the sacraments there is "another redemption, effected inwardly, and spiritually, in men's minds and hearts, by an influence, of which the incarnate Messiah is the source; and to the strength and fitness of which, every act of His life and every circumstance of His sufferings and death, contribute its proportion".¹

He sees that nothing is wanting in the two Sacraments to effect salvation. Regeneration is wrought through baptism, which is only administered once at the commencement of the Christian life, whereas the Eucharist communicates nourishment for the growth of the Christian life, and thus is repeated. He claims that "the mysterious institution in which this communication is made must of necessity, combine within it, every essential principle of the evangelic scheme".² Thus he develops to its fullest the sacramental principle that the whole Christian life can commence and move on to perfection merely by participating in these Sacraments.

1. Remains, Vol. II, p. 390.

2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 389.

(11) It is a commemorative sacrifice. He gives expression to this idea in a letter to J.S.Harford, dated 1814, to support his view of a special priesthood in the Church. "What act can we imagine, purporting to be a sacrifice, that can have any title to that mysteriously significant appellation, in comparison with the commemorative sacrifice celebrated by Christ's own appointment, in his mystical Israel"?¹ He holds that if the great Christian celebration was not intended to be sacrificial, there would be no relevancy in St. Paul's reference to "Israel after the flesh" eating of the sacrifices and thereby participating of the altar. But it is a commemorative sacrifice and must be distinguished from the extreme view put forward and practised by the Roman Church: that of repeating the sacrifice offered once for all. He does not mention the sacrificial idea in his treatise on the Eucharist, and therefore it may be inferred that he did not attach to it great importance in the year 1824 when that treatise was written.

(12) No adoration of the elements. He recognises that when the sacrament of the Eucharist is looked upon in the light that he sees it, it is, of necessity, valued, venerated and loved: it is "all but adored". Yet "the Jews, never dreamed of adoring the mysterious ark: they worshipped toward it; but they never confounded, homage to Him who rested upon it, with homage to itself; nor, similarly, will any unprejudiced and enlightened Christian confound, the visible symbols of the Eucharist, with Him who makes them 'the hiding of His power'".²

1. Remains, Vol. III. p. 254.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 387.

(b) The Human Requirements.

Knox's emphasis upon the divine action reduces the human requirements to a minimum. He maintains:-

(1) That faith is not necessary, and whilst he does not rule it out, the reception of the blessing does not depend upon it, rather "it leaves to faith its entire exercise, inasmuch as no extraordinary impression is made, either on the external, or the internal sense; but it exercises faith in the highest and happiest manner, by presenting to it an object, which, in its nature and its nearness, must be felt to unite heaven with earth, and God with man".¹ He holds that this assurance of the divine blessing aids the exercise of faith.

(2) Passive reception. He draws a distinction between the Sacraments and all other means of grace in religion. In the latter including prayer and public worship, the mind contributes to the desired results, and whilst it plays a subordinate part, it is called to co-operate with the divine. "In the Eucharistic institution alone, human co-operation, could have no share in the effect; because the medium employed could communicate influence or blessing, only through the direct operation of Almighty Power".² It is all the action of God through the sacred elements, and "we are thus led to feel, that the unseen agency is not only truly, but unmixedly divine; and that, by consequence, it works its purpose, not on a co-operative but on a passive subject".³ This process is inexplicable

1. Remains, Vol.II. p. 208.
 2. Ibid. Vol.II. p. 187.
 3. Ibid. Vol.II. p. 248.

because "God works invisibly in us".¹

(3) Whilst faith is not necessary as in all other means of grace, it does require capacity to receive. "I do not mean passive as to desire or as to sincere endeavours to expel, whatever might disqualify for so sacred a vouchsafement, but passive in the actual matter of reception; in like manner as the Apostles were passive, when our Saviour breathed on them, and said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost'".² Thus he conceives the Sacraments peculiarly and mysteriously supersede all other common means of edification, where the co-operation of the human mind is indispensable. In the Eucharist, capacity is "the sole requisite, for reception of the heavenly blessing".³

(4) Predisposition. He defines capacity to receive as predisposition. The mind may obstruct reception and that because it is a spiritual blessing, and therefore cannot enforce reception. As he puts it, "let it not be supposed, that, in excluding all strict and proper co-operation of the communicant, in his reception of the Eucharistic blessing, I wish to lessen the importance, or question the necessity, of due predisposition, in order to that reception.... . It is a spiritual blessing; and, therefore, not communicable to an oppositely disposed mind. We cannot co-operate in the divine act, because it is so purely divine as to exclude even subordinate co-agency; but we may obstruct, or wholly resist its effect, by a positive unpreparedness for any such benefit".⁴

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 170.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 248.

3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 251.

4. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 252.

(5) Hunger. The communicant must desire the blessing and feel his need for it. Pride and complacency obstruct reception. It can only be communicated to hungry souls, who are conscious of their wants and weaknesses. "There must, evidently, be a spiritual appetite, in order to the apprehension, much more the reception, of a spiritual blessing. 'Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled'. Their blessedness consists, we see, in their desire being satisfied: they could not be blessed, therefore, if that desire were wanting. This rule holds good, eminently, respecting the Lord's Supper....where no desire for this divine grace has been awakened, and no apprehension of its value and necessity is entertained, the provision made by our Redeemer for its conveyance, can excite, neither rational interest, nor adequate reverence".¹

(6) The receiver must look beyond the means to the Giver. The emphasis he lays upon the divine action in the Eucharist, brings into prominence the Host of the Feast. The sacred elements are the appointed instruments of omnipotent influence, and whilst God needs no medium to communicate His grace, He has always been pleased to employ a visible medium, and the simplicity of the sacramental symbols does not lessen, but rather increase the dignity of the observance. Our thoughts, therefore, are directed beyond them to the Divine Giver. "We look, beyond the means, to the omnipotent Agent, who conceals Himself, as it were, behind those material veils."² Knox would

1. Remains, Vol.II. p. 252 -3.

2. Ibid. Vol.II. p. 365.

direct the attention of the communicant to the Divine Agent, and thereby like Dr. Carnegie Simpson, make the Host prominent at the feast.¹

(c) The Benefits.

He claims that when the Eucharist is regarded as a unique means of grace, in the sense that the human requirements are reduced mainly to a capacity to receive, it brings:-

(1) Consolation. The devout believer has the assurance of the blessing, simply by waiting upon God. This assurance cannot fail to give comfort to weak and frail humanity. It is a blessing that does not even depend upon devotional feelings, for these fluctuate and are not always pious when the need is greatest. "Let his confidence in the promised grace of Christ be ever so sincere, his hope of a fresh communication will rise, or fall, with the conscious ardour, or the conscious coldness, of his affections. But these not being at human command, and seldom or never moving in exact proportion to the settled purposes of the heart, the consequence, on the whole, will naturally be, that when animating influences are most needed, they will be least expected".²

(2) Humility. The belief in the omnipotent action of God in the sacred ordinance has the effect of producing deep humility. Here man is utterly dependent upon God, nothing in his hand can he bring, simply to His promise does he cling, and the thought of his utter dependence makes him deeply humble.

1. The Evangelical Church Catholic, Dr.P.Carnegie Simpson. p.91
2. Remains, Vol.II. p. 210-211.

"In the sublime simplicity of the Eucharistic institution, the humble expectant of heavenly blessing is abstracted from all human agency, of others, or of himself".¹ He simply waits adoringly upon God, and "the mind thus impressed will feel no tendency to ascribe to itself, the benefits it may have received".²

(3) The sense of unworthiness. The discernment of the body of Christ in the symbols, must produce by contrast the sense of one's own unworthiness, just as Isaiah when he saw the Lord, realised his own sinfulness, or Peter, in the presence of the Master became conscious of his own sinful heart, so the recipient at the Eucharist has a heightened sense of his own imperfection. "The direct and unmixed apprehension of the divine power and presence, which the discernment of the Lord's body in the symbols must imply, cannot but impress upon the mind of man, such a sense of his own comparative baseness and nothingness, and inspire such an habitual and deep sobriety, as could not be conceived equally producible, through any other existing means in this lower world."³ Consequently it precludes all spiritual pride and self-congratulation.

(d). The Purpose.

We have seen that Knox considers the Eucharist as the appointed medium of salvation; consistent with this view, he looks upon it as the means of growth towards perfection. It gives:-

(1) Eternal Life. As the purpose of our Lord's Incarnation was "that ye might have life and have it more

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 213.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 213.

3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 213.

abundantly", so He has the same purpose in His continued presence in the lowly elements. In repudiating the notion that the Eucharist is merely a pledge or seal of the blessings of the Gospel, he states; "If the crowning mercy of the Gospel be a communication of life and strength, from Christ Himself, it appears no less reasonable, that the visible pledge of the blessing should be made the stated medium of communication. That the Eucharistic symbols might the more naturally be so regarded, the chief aliments of animal man were chosen for the purpose: bread, the principal strengthener of his frame; wine, the prompt reinvigorator of his exhausted spirits".¹

(2) Sanctification. Knox advocated the use of several means for progress towards holiness, but to him the Eucharist was "the chief provision for our sanctification".² The spiritual graces are communicated to the capable receiver for the sanctification of his body, the cleansing of his thoughts, and the culture of his soul. "They are intended to sanctify our soul, and even our body, as well as our rational mind".³

(3) Mystical union with Christ. The mystical union of the believer with Christ is effected through the Eucharist. "To live spiritually by Christ is, in the most important sense, to be one with Him; we must therefore conclude, ... our unity with Christ, to be, the crowning result of a right reception of Christ in the Eucharistic ordinance". And this designates "not only the reality, but the maturity of an

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 375.
 2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 376.
 3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 375.

inward and spiritual life, through that union with Him, which He Himself has illustrated, by that of the branches of a vine, with the main stem, by which they are sustained and nourished".¹ That it was intended to effect this purpose is further evidenced by the fact that it is "a rite not to be administered once only, like baptism, to each individual Christian, but on the contrary to be recurred to repeatedly, and continually, to the close of our pilgrimage on earth".² The benefit increases with continued participation, on the principle that "unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance".

Section iii: Analysis of his Doctrine.

The Sacraments have a double aspect, the symbolic and the instrumental. Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to say that the broad line of distinction between the different schools of thought on the subject, particularly within Protestantism, lies in the particular aspect emphasised. Those who underline the symbolic side associate the grace, not with the reception of the elements, but rather with the whole Sacramental service, whereas those who stress the instrumental side regard the elements as the means of communicating grace to the receiver. There is no doubt as to the particular emphasis laid by Knox. Whilst he acknowledges the symbolic aspect, he constantly stresses the instrumental. The sacred elements are not merely representative, but also instrumental.

1. Remains, Vol. II. pp.239-40.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p.246.

They are set apart for a particular purpose, and employed by omnipotence as means to serve an end.

It will now be convenient to deal with his doctrine in greater detail, and it will be found that he builds his doctrine upon an exegetical basis.

(a) The consecration of the elements. He calls particular attention to the words of St. Paul, that it is not "the cup of blessing which we drink", but rather "the cup of blessing which we bless".¹ The act of consecration is of supreme importance, for thus the elements are set apart for their high and holy purpose. It will be recalled that this emphasis upon consecration is in contradistinction to the teaching of Luther, who with his stress upon ubiquity maintained that Christ's body is already present in, with, and under the bread before consecration. "This sacramental unity is not the result, therefore, of any word or act of consecration".² Knox denied that consecration was effected merely by the pronouncement of the priest, but rather it is a divine act in response to the prayer of invocation. He does not state that the elements undergo a physical change at consecration, but he does insist that they are different after the act of consecration. They are changed in regard to their use and purpose, so that they become efficacious instruments of divine grace to worthy receivers. They are made the channels of heavenly influence.

1. Remains, Vol.II. p. 193.

2. E.R.E., Vol. V. p. 565., article on the "Eucharist" by Prof. Hugh Watt.

Calvin spoke of the elements as instruments,¹ and Wesley regarded them not merely as signs but as 'media' for spiritual realities. Wesley's commentary on the words "the cup which we bless" is "by setting it apart to a sacred use, and solemnly invoking the blessing of God upon it", and on the words "Is it not the communion of the blood of Christ" - "the means of our partaking of those invaluable benefits, which are the purchase of the blood of Christ. 'The communion of the body of Christ' - the means of our partaking of those benefits which were purchased by the body of Christ offered for us".²

The conception of the Eucharistic elements as vehicles of grace is confirmed, he believes by the Biblical record of God's dealings with men. He gives several examples of God using a medium to convey blessing to His people, e.g. Moses was commissioned to employ a rod to work miracles; the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night; and Elijah's mantle, but it will at once be seen that these examples would not carry much weight with a modern student. Knox realised the supremacy of the New Testament over the Old Testament, and states that if he could not find similar illustrations under the Gospel dispensation, they might quite easily be considered as an accommodation to human weakness prior to the spirituality of the Gospel. He, therefore, adduces examples from the New Testament, showing that our Lord used some visible signs to transmit help and virtue. He mentions the use of clay and

1. The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Rev.A.Barclay p. 127. Cf. also E.R.E. Vol.V. p.567.
 2. Wesley's notes on the New Testament, I.Cor. X. v.16.

spittle to give sight to a blind man, and that our Lord permitted the sick to touch the hem of His garment, and as many as touched Him were made perfectly whole. He claims that Christ used the method of a visible sign not only to convey corporeal blessings but also divine benedictions, e.g. "He breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost".¹

He frequently quotes the words, "He that eateth Me even he shall live by Me", and maintains that this discourse must have been in the thoughts of the Apostles when they afterwards participated in the Lord's Supper. He holds that St. Paul viewed the divine grace as connected with the elements, and that this is clear (1) from the way he appeals to the settled belief of the Christians in the words, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not communion of the blood of Christ? This form of the sentence", says Knox, "implies, that there was, already such unanimous consent in the Christian Church, respecting the nature and import of the Lord's Supper as to make it necessary only to take for granted the matter of that belief".² (2) He further sees the same view reflected in the charges levelled against the Christians of Corinth. Just as grace is communicated through the consecrated elements to the worthy receiver, so also in some awful manner a communication is made to every receiver. He maintains that this is the meaning of the words, "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons, ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 180.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 193.

and the table of demons, do not provoke the Lord to jealousy? are we stronger than He"? The warning conveyed in these words is that in some mysterious way the unworthy receiver exposes himself to some divine vengeance and the vengeance is conveyed through the elements. It is a fact that trifling with serious and solemn things inevitably results in inward deterioration, but Knox goes so far as to say that it is "not on the moral contrariety of the two acts, however real or extreme, but strictly, on the opposite import and effectiveness of the two cups, and of the two tables, as being respectively the mediums, of communion with the Lord, and of communion with demons".¹

It seems clear that the argument set forth here is that, as the sacred elements are vehicles of grace to worthy receivers, they become 'opus operatum' vehicles of vengeance to unworthy partakers. But is it not rather that the Apostle is applying a principle here, which is also applicable to an unworthy attitude to any sacred connection. If the married life is entered upon without any sense of its sacredness, it is bound to lead to its own destruction. Man cannot trifle with solemn things with impunity. It is a moral and spiritual affair and when engaged in unworthily, it brings its own moral and spiritual punishment. If this be so, it is not that the elements of themselves 'convey' vengeance, but rather that an inward deterioration ensues. Knox, however, teaches that by a sort of mechanical necessity, it 'conveys' vengeance just as the profane handling of the ark under the Old Testament (an example

1. Remains, Vol.II. p. 197.

which he in fact adduces) meant instant death.

It is possible that while Knox's argument in favour of his idea that grace is connected with the elements may not prove convincing, his main contention that the elements are instruments of grace, places him in the good company of Calvin and Wesley.

(b) **His conception of grace.** He draws a distinction between the acquisition of truth and the reception of grace. The former is obtained by mental apprehension while the latter is ours through internal reception. Both proceed from our Lord, "grace and truth came by Jesus Christ". These two ideas he says, are "the compendium of the evangelic dispensation". Truth is all that can be intellectually known and therefore requires human effort, whereas grace means much more than knowledge, it is "communicated influence",¹ and therefore is conveyed to a passive receiver. He says that "it was not by supernatural communication that truth was to be individually attained, but by a wise and adequate application of the rational powers. Grace, is an exercise of divine influence".² It works upon us, and we are nothing more than "grateful receivers and faithful improvers".

As our Lord was full of grace and truth, it is to be expected that suitable means both for the communication of grace, and the exhibition of truth would be continued. This he finds in the Bible and the Sacraments. "In this (Bible)

1. Remains, Vol.II p. 366.

2. Ibid. Vol.II. p.366.

invaluable record, God incarnate forms the chief feature: nor would it be possible to imagine a registry of fact, more admirably adapted to all the purposes of mental impression". And the Sacraments correspond "as fitly to the conveyance of divine grace, as the Christian volume is fitted for exhibiting divine truth".¹

This is a very plausible division, calculated to stimulate both mental effort and deepen the devotional attitude, and surely there is room for both in the Christian life, indeed it is a double attitude towards which every Christian should aim. Intellectual activity cannot be disregarded without mental decay, and just as it is applied in science it should be used in the science of theology. But the intellect is but a part of our personality, and alone it cannot lead the Christian onward and upward to the heights of sainthood. There are times when he just waits upon the Lord believing in His gracious promises and power to supply all his needs. Calvin had maintained before him that the Sacrament of the Eucharist means food for the soul and not for the mind.²

(c) Passive Reception. We have seen that he holds that the manner of reception of grace at the Sacraments differs from all other means of grace. Public worship as well as private devotion requires human co-operation, whereas in the Sacraments the recipient is passive, and the communication of grace is dependent upon divine omnipotence. He maintains that

1. Remains, Vol.II. p.368.

2. The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Rev. A. Barclay p. 143.

this distinction follows from the notion that the sacramental symbols are actual and effective instruments. His argument is that we cannot co-operate in the divine act because it is so purely divine as to exclude even subordinate co-agency.

Wesley had described the Lord's Supper as "the grand channel of grace", and that the breaking of bread is the central fact of Christian worship. There is practical unanimity in Protestantism that the Eucharist is the central act of Christian worship. There is, however, no evidence that Wesley considered the reception of grace at the Sacraments as different from that of other means of grace. In his sermon on "The Means of Grace", he says: "By means of grace I understand outward signs, words, or actions, ordained of God, and appointed for this end, to be the ordinary channels whereby He might convey to men, preventing, justifying, or sanctifying grace".¹ But it is one thing to describe the Eucharist as "the grand channel of grace", it is another and quite a different matter to regard it as a different method of imparting grace. In the one it is a difference of degree, in the other it is a difference of kind, and Knox maintains the latter. It is difficult to see any difference of kind in the Divine relationship here from that in other means of grace. We may freely admit that the Eucharistic elements are instruments and even effective instruments of divine grace. The words of a beautiful hymn like, "When I survey the wondrous Cross", may

1. Forty-Four Sermons by John Wesley. p.146.

be sung meaninglessly and convey little if any grace to him who sings it, whereas if it is sung intelligently and sincerely, it does undoubtedly become a channel of grace, and we may add in the same way as in the sacred elements. Both are undoubtedly instruments, but in both human co-operation is necessary. It may be that the objective aspect is more prominent in the Sacraments, but that does not dispense entirely with the subjective element. To regard the blessing of the Lord's Supper as different in manner from all other means of grace, borders on a mechanical infusion of influence. As Canon Quick maintained, "the appropriate figure for indicating the instrumental operation of a sacrament is given not by the term insert but by the term elicit."¹ This idea as Dr. Oman has shown is in keeping with the laws of personality, that all human relationships with the Divine, including the reception of grace, are personal.² Knox would doubtless repudiate any idea of mechanical infusion of grace, and would reply that he insisted upon certain human requirements, but as we have seen he reduces these to a minimum. Knox fully realised that his teaching was liable to be misunderstood, for after stating that divine grace is communicated in, and through, the Sacrament, by a special exercise of divine power, "it will follow that, not an inability to co-operate, but solely an incapacity to receive, will obstruct the communication".³ He adds in a footnote, "it is not possible, within such narrow limits as I have prescribed

1. The Christian Sacraments, Canon Quick. p.112.

2. Grace and Personality, Dr. John Oman. pp. 189-191. (3rd ed.)

3. Remains, Vol. II. p.211.

to myself, to guard the thought, expressed in this paragraph, against the danger of misapprehension".¹ In a letter to Bishop Jebb, dated December 31st., 1829, when he was preparing his Tract on the Doctrine of the Eucharist for publication, he says: "It was indispensable to prefix to the tract, an historical introduction; were it only to preclude the possibility of charging it, with any leaning towards transubstantiation".² Furthermore, he makes it quite clear that the communicant must be disposed to receive, and insists upon a form of preparation. It is a spiritual blessing, and therefore cannot be communicated to a positively unprepared soul. Hunger and thirst for grace are an essential condition. It is here that he would reply to the charge of mechanical infusion in his doctrine. The receiver must be in the right attitude in order to receive. He is bound to realise his own wants and weaknesses, his poverty and utter need for spiritual replenishment, and there, at the table wait humbly and helplessly upon the bountiful Giver. The lack of emphasis however upon these human requisites is a defect in Knox's teaching. It must also be noted that Calvin was somewhat ambiguous in his teaching on the requisite of faith. He stressed the divine action till he was inclined to overlook human co-operation, and Ebrard explains that this was due to a mingling of predestinarian doctrine with the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and he considers this in Calvin's teaching to be "the only blemish it had"³. Knox reduces faith to a vanishing

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 211.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. II. p. 575

3. Quoted by Rev. A. Barclay in his "The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper". pp. 170-171

point, but we should remind ourselves that faith to him was active union with Christ as with Zwingli,¹ and not in the sense of absolute reliance upon Christ's saving and sanctifying power as with Luther.² Faith in the latter sense is certainly implied in his theory, otherwise he could not have stressed the assurance of the divine blessing.

(d) The relation of Christ's presence to the consecrated elements.

(1) The idea of the corporeal presence of Christ in the elements is absent from the teaching of Knox, except in so far as he denies it. He insists rather that the blessing is a spiritual one proceeding from Christ, through the consecrated elements. It is a divine influence or power to which no less name will fit, than the body and blood of Christ. He quotes the words, "the bread is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world", and whilst he stresses the need of ascribing to these words an adequate sense, "they certainly admit of no gross, or corporeal interpretation; for, as He Himself has said, 'they are spirit, and they are life'".³ There can, therefore, be no manducation of the body of Christ. What then is the body which is present? Knox replies that it is "not the mystical body, composed of those who believe in Christ. Not the glorified body: this was beyond the ken of creatures. It could, therefore, be no other, than Christ's Eucharistical

1. The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Rev.A.Barclay
p. 47.

2. Ibid. p.48.

3. Remains, Vol. II. p. 386.

body; His operative presence, as the incarnate and suffering Messiah, uniting itself with, and acting by and through, the consecrated symbols".¹

Whilst emphasising the spiritual nature of the blessing, he lays equal emphasis upon the real presence of Christ or as he expresses it, "the special presence of Christ". His argument is, that the elements are instruments of omnipotence, consequently the Divine Agent must be present.

The mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist was the real difficulty that faced theologians up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, while heaven was still regarded as a place, to which the glorified body of our Lord ascended. Hence, it was asked, how can the Lord's body be in two places at one and the same time?² Medieval Catholicism identified the real presence with the consecrated elements. Luther endeavoured to preserve the doctrine by maintaining that Christ's glorified body is ubiquitous, and therefore it is already present. Zwingli held that the body of Christ, being ascended to "the right hand of God", is circumscribed, and is therefore not present in the elements. Calvin overcame this difficulty by conceiving of "the right hand of God", "as participation in the omnipotence and majesty of God. What followed?...From the glorified Christ there streams a power over and above the ordinary influence of the Holy Spirit, of which, in the Supper, believers are recipients. The body of Christ is not now present on earth anywhere as substance, i.e., as material substance, but

1. Remains, Vol.II. p.372.

2. The Christian Sacraments, Canon Quick. p.207.

it is present as power, as 'virtus;' if not 'naturaliter', then 'vere et efficaciter.' In the Eucharist, Christ is present with 'omnia beneficia'.¹ Barclay maintains that this was original in Calvin, and was "the great, fundamental thought of his theory".² Knox put forward a similar view to that of Calvin as will be observed from the following passage: "To our Redeemer's natural person, we can now pay no other reverence, than that of the mind and heart. Having passed into the heavens, He sits for ever on the right hand of the Majesty on high. But we must not forget, that He did not more expressly call His body, a temple, than He afterwards called the Eucharistic bread, His body. In calling His body a temple, He declared it to be the habitation of Deity. In calling the bread His body, He could not mean less, than that it was His representative body; a token, in which, according to St. Paul, the once humiliated, but now glorified, body of the Lord, was to be discerned, that is, recognised and honoured by His Church; and by eating of which the spirit and power of Him, whom it represented, should be communicated to all His living members".³ It is a divine energy or power communicated by the omnipotent Christ to the human heart and mind.

(2) The need and value of a special presence. He holds that "such a communication of divine influence, as could be effected only by the omnipotent power of our Redeemer, must

1. E.R.E. Vol. V.p.568. (article by Prof. Hugh Watt.)

2. The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Rev.A.Barclay.
p. 117.

3. Remains, Vol.II. p.381.

also, of necessity, imply His special and extraordinary presence".¹ He proceeds to illustrate the importance of this, by maintaining first, that the special presence awakens filial affection. He saw as Jeremy Taylor did², that the idea of the ubiquity of God produces dread and fear. It brings home the fact that we are always in the presence of the judge of all men. Knox feels this very strongly, "though the omnipresence of God is a most awful and momentous truth, yet, even in the best-disposed minds, the sense, merely, of this presence, however it must excite philosophical reverence, would scarcely awaken filial affection. Then only can we contemplate God as our Father, when we have assurance that He regards us as His children; and that we are, distinctly and individually, within the gracious notice, and under the direct influence, of our Almighty Parent".³ Second, the special presence intensifies the consciousness of omnipresence. The awareness of the omnipresence of God can only become an established fact, in so far as it is animated by the sense of His special presence. Third, the manifestations of God's special presence is, therefore, an accommodation to human weakness, without which man would not have learned the great and awe-inspiring truth of His ubiquity. We could not have had the 139th Psalm apart from it. He sees the same merciful method throughout the Old Testament leading up to the crown and climax in Jesus Christ. The

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 215.

2. Holy Living by Jeremy Taylor. p.23.(London: Griffith F.Brown)

3. Remains, Vol.II. p.215.

Incarnation is an adaptation of the same divine method with human nature, "all former tokens or evidences of the special presence of Jehovah, being, in comparison with the actual advent of Immanuel, God with us, but preparative and prelibation".¹ He sees a continuation of the same gracious condescension in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It meets the exigencies of human nature.

Calvin had stressed a similar consideration of human needs and weakness,² and there is no doubt about the need to many, and the immense value of the manifestations of God's special presence. There may be some souls whose strong sense of spiritual realities may not cause them to feel the need for associating the divine presence with certain places and certain objects, but there are thousands of other souls, who do feel the need in a very real sense. It must also be admitted that the most spiritually minded are often the people who do make most use of special 'means of grace' -services of worship and prayer, and the Lord's Supper. The doctrine of the special presence has immeasurable value, and Knox's teaching that grace is associated with the elements, accompanied by his teaching of the real presence of the Agent to communicate the blessing, goes a long way to meet human needs, without sacrificing truth. It is interesting to note that whilst emphasising the special presence, he does not neglect the doctrine of divine immanence as was done in the middle ages.³

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 216.

2. The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Rev. A. Barclay
p. 13.

3. The Christian Sacraments, Canon Quick. p. 211.

He does see the need and value of a personal and objective contact between Christ and the believer, but this is not due to any idea of a far off Deity that needs an intermediate agent to establish a point of contact with his devotees.

(e) Salvation through the Sacraments. We have noticed that Knox like Wesley before him regarded baptism as a divinely instituted means of regeneration, but Wesley's teaching about baptism combined with his insistence upon evangelical conversion rather puzzled people, and exposed him to attacks from his enemies. When he emphasised the necessity of being born again, they replied that the man had already been born again at baptism, and therefore, it was superfluous to talk of an evangelical conversion. Dr. Sparrow Simpson explains that the embarrassment arose from the fact that "the expression 'born again' was obviously used by himself and by his critics in different senses. He employed the term in the sense of conversion, his critics in the sense of regeneration. He meant a subjective change of will, his critics an objective gift of grace".¹ It is true that whilst Wesley insisted on the necessity of baptism, he would never allow baptism to form a substitute for individual repentance and conversion. But Dr. Sparrow Simpson's explanation is a play on words and is hardly satisfying. Is not the explanation of this to be found rather in Wesley's experience among men and women which proved to him beyond any possibility of doubt, that it was possible to desert

1. John Wesley and the Church of England by Dr. W. J. Sparrow Simpson
p. 30.

grace, not merely after baptism but also after an evangelical conversion?

Knox insisted on baptism, but he went further than Wesley in that he developed more fully his sacramental teaching. He believed that if the germ of the spiritual life, planted at infant baptism, were cared for and protected, it would grow and ripen to its fulness, with the implication that it would obviate the necessity of an evangelical conversion. Thus he can explain his purpose of writing his dissertation, "On the nature of our salvation through Christ", as "following the guidance of Holy Scripture, as well as the concurrent sentiment of the Catholic Church, I have resolved that salvation, into the inward and spiritual grace, of which the outward and the visible sign, in both sacraments, but most eminently and effectually in that of the Eucharist, is the peculiarly appointed medium".¹ He claims that his doctrine of the Sacraments points to "another redemption, effected inwardly, and spiritually, in men's minds and hearts, by an influence, of which the incarnate Messiah is the source".²

The description of the Sacraments as "another redemption", indicates that he did not wholly abandon his doctrine of Evangelicalism. It is another and not the only means of salvation, and this is further strengthened when he speaks of his doctrine of the Eucharist as "only another view of evangelical simplicity".³

This consideration of the Eucharist brings Knox on

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 389.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 390.

3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 389.

the main principle into line with Wesley. The early Methodists regarded the Lord's Supper as a converting ordinance,¹ just as Knox did, when he speaks of it as a "saving and sanctifying power".² But he worked out his theology in greater detail than Wesley, and while holding the view that baptism was a means of regeneration, he could speak of the Eucharist mainly as "the chief provision for sanctification".

(f) The main purpose of the Eucharist is holiness. He holds that as bread is necessary for the life of the human body, so the broken bread is a necessary nourishment for the life of the soul. It feeds the spiritual life with the bread that descends from above. In and through the consecrated elements the worthy receiver has communion with Christ, and by partaking of them he becomes one with Christ. It is both communion and union with his Lord, and as this is the goal of the Christian life, it is attained chiefly by means of 'the grand channel of grace'. It is in fact the mystical union with Christ.

(g) He rejects Transubstantiation. Knox's view of the special presence of the Redeemer at the Eucharist was essentially a spiritual one, and he strongly repudiates any gross and carnal notion of the Eucharistic presence. He says that "to understand the mysterious term of the Lord's body, in any such gross sense as has been fancied in the Church of Rome, would be to overlook our Redeemer's expressions.... 'It is the spirit which quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words which

1. Northern Catholicism, ed. by N.P.Williams and C.Harris. p.525.
2. Remains, Vol. II. p.139.

I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life!"¹

That he felt very strongly on this matter is reflected in his Prefatory Note to the treatise on the Eucharist, which is in the form of a letter to J.S.Harford in answer to a query by the latter regarding the doctrine of transubstantiation. The first part of the letter deals briefly with the rise and growth of the theory of transubstantiation. He declares that it is very remarkable, having regard to the growing prevalence of superstitious views of the Christian mysteries, in proportion as the Roman Empire became involved in intellectual darkness, "that the real tenet of transubstantiation should not have been propounded, until about the year 820, or 830".² He proceeds to quote from Roman Catholic writers, all of whom acknowledge that Paschasius Radbertus, a monk of the Abbey of Corbey, in the diocese of Amiens, was its promulgator. This treatise was brought to the notice of Charles the Bald, who requested Bertram or Ratram, a monk of the same monastery to reply to the treatise. He consented and put forward a luminous and powerful answer.³

Paschasius had stated that "although, in the sacrament, there be the figure of bread and wine, yet we must believe it, after consecration, to be nothing else, but the body and blood of Christ;" that is, as he explains in more detail, "and to say something yet more wonderful, it is no other flesh

1. Remains, Vol. II. p.201.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 140.

3. De Corpore et Sanguine Domini.

than that, which was born of Mary, suffered on the Cross, and rose again from the grave". Bertram was given two questions to which to reply, 1st., whether "Quod in Ecclesia, ore fidelium sumitur, Corpus et Sanguis Christi in mysterio fiat, an in veritate ?". 2nd., "Utrum ipsum Corpus sit quod de Maria natum est et passum, mortuum et sepultum, quodque resurgens, et coelos ascendens, ad dextram Patris consideat ?".¹ Knox declares that Bertram's reply showed 1st., "the Eucharist contains not the physical verity, but the spiritual mystery of the Saviour's body and blood".² And 2nd., he supported his position by quoting the Fathers, and thereby declaring his agreement with the judgement of the Catholic Church and his disagreement with Paschasius.

Knox regards this as a signal link, in the chain of Providence, which whilst allowing the introduction of this "monstrous novelty", made provision for exposing "the fabricated error". He mentions the Saxon homily for Easter, inserted in the second volume of Fox's Acts and Monuments, translated from Latin about A.D.970, and in its present form a century later than Bertram's book, "not only maintains the same doctrine, but, in most of its leading passages, is strictly copied from Bertram".³ Having stated that several editions of Bertram's book were printed at the time of the Reformation and at length published by Roman Catholics, which is further evidence of its authenticity and orthodoxy, he criticises Bellarmine, who was so far from

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 142.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 142.

3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 143.

regarding Bertram's treatise as orthodox, that he did not give its author a place amongst his "Scriptores Ecclesiastici". What is worse Bellarmine "to lessen the authority of Bertram's work, and to add strength to that of Paschasius's, (it would seem knowingly) misrepresents fact, by stating, that Paschasius's tract was written to oppose the new doctrine of Bertram, instead of Bertram's treatise being written to repel the innovation of Paschasius". His calm comment upon this is that "unfortunately, the Roman Catholic religion does not inspire, though it does not always destroy, a love of truth".¹

The above summary shows 1st., that Knox had taken pains to study the history of the Roman Catholic doctrine, and 2nd, that he was quite definitely opposed to the theory of transubstantiation. He believed like Wesley² before him in "the continuance after consecration, of the natural substances notwithstanding the heavenly properties, with which they have become invested".³ There is no change in substance of the bread into the substance of the body.

(h) He rejects the Memorialist theory because (a) Christianity does not need mere symbolical ceremonies. "Christianity," he says, "is too firmly founded in fact, and too distinctly exhibited in historical records, and characteristic exemplifications, to need the aid of mere symbolical ceremonies"⁴ He maintains that the Christian would receive greater benefit

1. Remains, Vol. II. pp. 145-6.

2. John Wesley and the Church of England by, Dr. W.J. Sparrow Simpson. p. 39. Cf. Wesley's legacy to the World, by Dr. E. Rattenbury. pp. 177-8.

3. Remains, Vol. II. p. 139.

4. Ibid, Vol. II. p. 363.

and blessing in calmly contemplating the Gospel story, than engaging in an act of mere commemoration. The rite cannot impress the mind more than a close meditation of the accounts of the Evangelists. He considers that it would impair what he calls "the rational dignity" of Christianity to make the repetition of a commemorative act compulsory. (b) The memorialist's view make it a duty rather than a means of blessing. "If the sacrament of the Eucharist had been ordained merely as a commemorative celebration, -that is, if our Redeemer had said nothing more, than 'do this in remembrance of me'- its institution would have implied rather the injunction of a permanent duty than a pledge and means of a permanent blessing, in that view, it might have afforded an occasion for the more solemn expression of Christian gratitude, or the renewal of Christian obligation; but it could not be thought to give the prospect of any special spiritual benefit, beyond what might be found, in an equally ardent exercise of devotion, on any other religious occasion".² He proceeds to say that if the Eucharistic signs are to be reduced to the level of any other means of grace, it would hardly explain their adoption in a religion, in which rites and ceremonies were so professedly to give place to spiritual worship. (c) The memorialist's view results in a loss of interest and attractiveness. He holds that these unhappy consequences accompany a mere commemorative rite, and accounts more for remission in attendance at Communion than anything else.. It is not the frequency of the celebration that

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 185.

leads to this result, as familiarity with the best things in life breeds affection.

In what category can we place him ? We have noticed that he has points of agreement with Calvin, and yet he does not appear to have studied his doctrine of the Eucharist. There is at least no external evidence to that effect, and judging from his one and only allusion to him on this subject, it strengthens the view that he had not studied Calvin. When dealing with the theory that separates the sacramental blessing from the sacramental symbols, he says: "of this way of thinking were, most probably, all the Helvetic Reformers. Calvin, though accustomed to use strong language respecting the Eucharist, must still be understood to have connected the grace of the Eucharist with the commemorating act, but in no manner with the symbols".¹ He does not seem to be aware that Calvin spoke of the Lord's Supper as "a spiritual communion, by which, 'en vertu et en efficace', He makes us partakers of all that we can receive of grace in His body and His blood. It is all spiritual, i.e., by the bond (lien) of His Spirit".² And further, "this communion of His flesh and blood, Christ offers and presents in His holy Supper under the symbols of bread and wine to all who rightly celebrate it".³ Professor Watt in enunciating the distinctive thought of Calvin declares, that "the bread and wine are signs of the body and blood of Christ,

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 165.

2. The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Rev.A.Barclay
p. 123.

3. Ibid. p. 133.

but exhibiting signs and instrumental means of His presence".¹ Whilst Calvin, therefore, denies that the sacred elements are actually His body and blood, he does hold that they are so "in virtue, power and effect". This exalted view of the Sacrament was maintained by Knox, who speaks of the elements as instrumental means, and, in virtue and efficacy, the body and blood of Christ. We are thus led to the conclusion that Knox's doctrine is the same in principle as that of Calvin's and that with the evidence at hand, he arrived at this view quite independently of him. He studied the doctrine mainly as he found it in Church of England writers, and as expressed in the New Testament, and did not concern himself with the teaching of the Continental Reformers.

There were three views of the Eucharist dominant in the Church of England during the eighteenth century.² (1) The Virtualist which was championed by John Johnson of Cranbrook, and popularised by the Non-jurors. (2) The Memorialist associated with the name of Bishop Hoadley. (3) The Receptionist held by Jeremy Taylor and Daniel Waterland. This last mentioned theory was the middle view in Protestantism, and the most predominant in the Church of England. It is difficult to place Knox in any one of these particular categories, as he does not stand on all fours in any one of them. Darwell Stone describes his doctrine as a combination of Receptionism and the Virtualism of John Johnson.³ Canon V.F.Storr says, that whilst Knox denies

1. E.R.E. Vol. V. p. 567.

2. The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Oxford Movement, Dr.W.H.Mackean p.1.

3. A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, Dr. Darwell Stone, Vol.II. p.516.

that he is teaching a doctrine of 'opus operatum,' he comes very near it.¹ We have seen that he rejects on the one hand transubstantiation and on the other hand memorialism. He also rejects with equal vigour the receptionists theory which separates the sacramental blessing from the sacramental symbols. He states in a letter to Bishop Jebb that "the consecrated symbols are not merely (as Dr. Waterland maintains) the signs or pledges of a concomitant blessing, but (as the old Church taught, and as Dr. Butt urges against Waterland) the actual vehicles, through which that blessing is conveyed".² To the receptionist the entire emphasis is upon the significance of the sacraments. He holds that through it there may be communion with Christ at the same time as the elements are received, but there can be no causal connection. Knox is quite definitely in disagreement with the receptionist's view. He held, however, one point in common with it, and that was, he did not entirely repudiate the symbolic aspect of the elements after consecration. He has stronger leanings towards the virtualist's theory. He quotes with approval a passage from Bishop Horsley's charge to the clergy of Rochester, "that the sacraments are not only signs of grace, but means of the grace signified, the matter of the sacrament being by Christ's appointment, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, the vehicle of grace to the believer's soul".³

The sacramental symbols are invested with derivative dignity and

1. Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, V.F. Storr. p. 90.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol. II p. 356.

3. Remains, Vol. II. p. 175.

instrumental virtue. He holds that the bread and the wine are the effective organs "of a vital communication from the invisible, but then specially operative, and therefore specially present, Redeemer".¹ The elements are, therefore, not actually the body and blood of Christ, but in virtue and efficacy they are so. This is the mystery before which his head bows in humble adoration. There is evidently much here which is in common with the virtualist's theory and as the latter theory teaches, he held that consecration was effected, not merely by reciting the words of institution, but by the operating presence of Christ in response to the invocatory prayer. So far he is in agreement with John Wesley and the supporters of the virtualist's view, and in common with them he did not attempt to explain the combination of supernatural grace and the consecrated elements. He goes, however, a step beyond them, in presenting a view of grace which is scarcely distinguishable from the Roman Catholic doctrine of 'ex opere operato,' so that whilst he has greater leanings towards virtualism than any other category, he cannot strictly be designated by that appellation. He may be described as a virtualist plus.

He claims to hold the doctrine of the Church of England and of Antiquity. Knox endeavours to trace his doctrine through Ridley back to Bertram,² and to show that this teaching was embodied in the first English Prayer Book, but owing to Cranmer's instability, who allowed himself to be influenced by

1. Remains, Vol. 11. p. 201.

2. De Corpore et Sanguine Domine.

Continental divines, a change of doctrine was introduced into the Revised Prayer Book, but finally the old doctrine was restored a hundred years later.

There is much uncertainty as to the exact doctrine held by Cranmer on the subject of the Eucharist. Dr.C.Sydney Carter gives ample evidence that there have been different judgements on Cranmer's teaching, and this is not surprising when he was twitted by his contemporaries for changing his views on the subject. Whilst he himself denied any adherence to Lutheran teaching, Dr. Carter says: "it is probable that an unprejudiced reader of this Catechism (Cranmer's) would endorse Archbishop Laurence's statement that 'the doctrine of the Eucharist contained in this Catechism is completely Lutheran'".¹ He adds that Soames accurately summed up Cranmer's teaching when he says: "it does not plainly assert transubstantiation, and therefore there is reason to believe that when Cranmer published this piece, he was beginning to waver upon the subject of that doctrine".² Dr. Carter concludes that " a review of Cranmer's teaching on the Lord's Supper leads us to the conclusion that his general position practically coincides with the 'receptionist' view enunciated later by Richard Hooker that 'the real presence of Christ's blessed Body and Blood is not to be sort for in the Sacrament but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament'".³ Knox would agree that this was Cranmer's view at the time of the revision

1. The Reformation and Reunion, Dr.S.Sydney Carter. p.26.
 quoted from Lawrence's Bampton Lectures.p.210.

2. Ibid. p. 27. Quotes Soames, History of Reformation,III,72 .

3. Ibid. p. 47.

of the Prayer Book, after he had surrendered to the influence of Bucer, to whom he submitted the revised Prayer Book, "in order to see if anything in it might be emphasised more agreeably with God's word."¹ Whilst Knox gave unqualified tribute to Ridley, he was severely critical of Cranmer, and would have agreed with G.M.Trevelyan's estimate of him as "timid and time serving at the Council Board".²

That Ridley never concurred in the changes in the Prayer Book, and that in fact he deeply lamented the new notions and measures of Cranmer, Knox quotes from Ridley's letter to one of his former chaplains, in which he says: "you have known me long ~~enough~~ indeed; in the which time, it hath chanced me, as you say, to mislike somethings. It is true, I grant; for sudden changes, without substantial and necessary cause, and the heady setting forth of extremities, I did never love".³ He maintains that Ridley was unshaken in his adherence to Bertram to the very last as is seen in his defence at Oxford, when he declared that his teaching is based on that of Bertram's, "a man learned, of sound and upright judgement, and ever counted a Catholic for these seven hundred years, until this our age,.... This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish Church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly, both the Scriptures and writings of the old ecclesiastical Fathers, concerning this matter. And this I protest, before the face

1. The Reformation and Reunion, Dr.C.Sydney Carter. p.55.

2. History of England, G.M.Trevelyan, p.313.

3. Remains, Vol. II. p. 151-2.

of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things which I now speak".¹ The modifications in the English Prayer Book reflect the changed notions of Cranmer, from the doctrine of Bertram, who considered the spiritual blessing as combined with the symbols, to an idea that separated the former from the outward and visible signs, and represented the Eucharist as a mere declaratory symbol. But gradually there came a revival of Ridley's principles,... "from sectarian ascendancy, the spirit of Ridley's doctrine was wonderfully infused into that very form, from which Cranmer had sought to exclude it; and which, considering the yet unsettled state of public mind, (just after the Restoration) the revisers thought it safer to reanimate, than to remodify".² Finally, the revisers restored that which Cranmer had rejected, and that "with as much retention as possible of the former language". He sees this particularly in the formulary of exhortation, "wherefore it is our duty to render most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that he hath given his Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament", which displaced the new ideas of Cranmer expressed in the formulary.... "to be our spiritual food and sustenance, as it is declared unto us, as well by God's word, and by the holy sacrament of His body and blood".³

Knox's review of the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist in the Church of England, with a comparison of its

1. Remains, Vol.II. p. 152-3.

2. Ibid. Vol.II: p. 153.

3. Ibid. Vol.II. p. 155.

teaching with that of the Fathers, leads him to the conclusion that the teaching of that Church is the doctrine of Antiquity. It is the doctrine expounded by Bertram in opposition "to the modern dogma of transubstantiation", and embraced by Ridley , embodied in the first Prayer Book, and after a period of vacillation lasting for a hundred years, finally restored. It shows, however, that Knox had not studied Calvin's teaching on the Eucharist, or else it is inconceivable that he could have made the statement that the Church of England is "the exclusive providential conservatory, of ancient Catholic faith and ancient Catholic piety".¹ Calvin had maintained the same doctrine as that set forth by Bertram,² "and from the outset the Church of Scotland has held a Calvinistic doctrine of the Supper".³ Knox was at this point on the fringe of his subject. He had chiefly concerned himself with the teaching in the Anglican Church, where he was deeply conscious of conflicting voices, and greatly lamented the party spirit that led men to neglect the truth in their anxiety to support a particular theory.

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 156.

2. The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Rev.A.Barclay.
pp. 291-3.

3. E.R.E. p. 569. article by Prof.H. Watt.

CHAPTER 12.

THE CHURCH .

There was no clearly conceived and expressed doctrine of the Church among Anglicans during the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The High Church party maintained Church principles, and insisted upon the institutional aspect of it, but apart from this general principle, there was no uniformity of belief. Dr. Brilioth points out that High Churchmanship in the eighteenth century regarded the Church as having a divine origin, and an existence independent of secular sanctions, and generally speaking, in religion and theology, it was the successor of Caroline Anglicanism; whereas the High Church party in the beginning of the nineteenth century strenuously upheld existing Church practice, especially the Church's character of State Church. The Church was revered "as an element in 'our happy constitution' and the Prayer Book as an act of Parliament".¹ The distinction between the two doctrines is clear, and it is equally clear that whilst the latter gave expression to the corporate consciousness of the Church, it was mainly concerned with the structure and form of the Church.

Evangelicalism stood at the other extreme. It concentrated its attention upon such doctrines as sin, atonement

1. The Anglican Revival, Dr. Y. Brilioth. p.21.

and forgiveness, and thus stressed the subjective side of religion. It was an over-emphasis of individualism, with a comparative neglect of Church principles. "It was in their devotion to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans they forgot St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. Whereas Lord John Russell accused his Tory opponents of preaching 'a Church without the Gospel', the Evangelicals preached a Gospel, which, without a Church, perforce hung rather in the air".¹ This was a serious defect in Evangelicalism, particularly as it developed in post-Wesley years. Wesley himself, however, remained to the end a High Churchman, although it is undeniable that personal religion was his chief concern. It was only after much prayerful consideration that he would allow any new practices to meet emergencies, and "when John Wesley, in defence of his innovations in liturgy and Church discipline, quoted the example of the early Church, this is one feature among many which shows his genuine Anglican temper".² This appeal to antiquity and his efforts to keep his followers in connection with the Church of England, reveal that he carefully considered the relation of "the People called Methodists" to Catholicism. Knox was the one exception among Wesley's successors to hold like himself an exalted view of the Church, for whilst he stressed personal religion he had a corresponding recognition of the Church. He does not forget that the New Testament speaks of "one body" as

1. Church and People, S.C.Carpenter, p. 40.

2. The Anglican Revival, Dr. Y. Brilioth. p. 29. Cf. Abbey and Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 320 f.

well as of "one spirit". It therefore follows that we must look for something visible and palpable. "If there were an invisible Church only, one spirit would have suitably and fully expressed it; but, there being a body to be animated, as well as a spirit which animates, we must find a visible Church to which the metaphor of body will as fitly correspond, as spirit answers to that unseen extension of living faith and predominant charity which constitutes the visible Church".¹

He claims to be a debtor to no system for leading him out of the world, into the ways of God, and that this places him in a position of advantage to consider impartially the relative merits of existing religious "bodies". "I acknowledge," he says, "I account it a very valuable blessing; for, being bound to nothing, I seem to myself to have access to the spirit of everything. Let it not appear arrogant in me simply to say, that, ~~xxx~~ it is as if I saw, from a high ground, variously fenced-in paths, in a valley below, where safety is secured, and guidance obtained, at the expense of confinement and coercion in various ways; in all which, Divine Providence seems most wisely to have consulted for the diversified exigencies of weak mortals; and to have also, in each set, some special movement at work, which shall have its effect on the general object".² He endeavours to recognise the good in each one, without being blind to their faults, but for his part, he is "neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant, but a Christian of the six first

1. Remains, Vol. III. pp. 241-2.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 74.

centuries".¹

Section i : A statement of his Doctrine.

(a) The New Testament represents a divinely instituted visible Church. He points out that the Church represented in the New Testament did not come into being simply by means of the true believers forming themselves into a society, but that it was a visible institution, into which baptism gave admission. He puts forward the theory that the Christian Church was modelled after the pattern of Judaism. He compares Romans, IX. 4.5., where St. Paul mourns the obstinacy of his own beloved nation in overthrowing its vast privileges, with Ephesians II, vs. 11 f, where the Apostle describes the former excluded state of the Ephesians as Gentiles. They were aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, as well as strangers to the covenants of promise. He sees in the following verses "that St. Paul ascribes to the Christians at Ephesus, and, by consequence, to the body of Gentile Christians generally, a transferred, or rather co-participant enjoyment of the Israelitish constitution; that is, of every thing in the Jewish Ecclesiastical polity which was solidly beneficial, or intrinsically lovely: everything which served, on national principles, to diffuse religious sentiments through a whole people, and to preserve religious truth, unimpaired and unadulterated, through successive generations".²

(b) The New Testament Church contained the seed for

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 402.

2. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 235.

a hierarchical government. He claims that the hierarchical organisation of the Jewish nation was transferred to the Gentile Church. The commonwealth of Israel had been governed "by its civil and sacerdotal institutions, its twelve princes of the tribes, and its seventy elders, its high priests, its inferior priests and levites".¹ These appointments had given the Jewish commonwealth its shape, and maintained its solidity and its continuity. "They were to it, at once, what both the bones and the vascular systems are to a living animal".² The Church as represented in the New Testament was directed towards a government analogous to that in Judaism, but he only deals with the direction given to it, and does not claim that a fully developed organisation is presented there. He asks "at what time and in what manner the analogical Judaism..... was made a part of the evangelic economy ?", and answers "that this appears to have been done by Christ Himself". Christ laid "a foundation, to which time and rising circumstances could not fail to add a correspondent superstructure".³ (1) Christ established two solemn rites analogous to circumcision and the passover. (2) He appointed two orders of ministry, viz. the Twelve corresponding to the twelve princes of the tribes which made up the higher order, and the seventy others corresponding to the seventy elders who comprised the lower order. (3) He made "His own death and resurrection to coincide with one great Jewish anniversary, and the sending of the Holy Spirit, with

1. Remains, Vol. III. p. 244.

2. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 244

3. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 247.

another".¹ Thus he claims that our Lord gave to His Church "a definite character and a lasting direction". The transference of the Jewish organisation to the Christian Church had its origin in the will and act of Jesus Christ.

(c). The ministry had a sacerdotal character. He maintains that whilst the priesthood "formed no distinct institution" in the Church, like that among the Jewish, yet it was not wholly overlooked. He had no doubt about the priesthood of all believers, and quotes verses from the New Testament in support of his belief, but as in Exodus XIX, 6, the children of Israel are described as "a kingdom of priests and an holy nation", this national dignity "did not prevent the appointment of Aaron and his sons to a more peculiar priesthood, so neither can the sacerdotal dignity of Christians generally be adduced as an objection to a special priesthood, analogous to that of the Jews, in the Christian Church".² He finds direct evidence for this idea in Romans XV, 16, where St. Paul speaks of himself as *λεειτουργὸς Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, and not *διάκονός*, the usual word. After pointing out that this is a term most eminently applied to Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says: "St. Paul in declaring himself the *λεειτουργὸς* of Jesus Christ, clearly conveys the idea of his being a priest subordinatedly as Jesus Christ is a priest supremely".³ He claims that there is indirect recognition of the special priesthood in I. Corinthians X, respecting the Lord's Supper, where the Apostle says: "we bless,

1. Remains, Vol. III. p.247-8.

2. Ibid. Vol. III. p.250.

3. Ibid. Vol. III. p.252:

we break', he must necessarily have meant himself, and the other stewards of the mysteries of God. What then on the whole, are these appointed stewards, but priests of the new dispensation as the sons of Aaron were priests of the old dispensation".¹

(d). The Christian Church preserved the Liturgical character of Judaism. That the old institution had answered its end, in spite of its shortcomings and apostasies, there is abundant evidence in the piety that blossomed in the psalms. He describes it as "the matchless spirit... of Jewish Catholicity," which at last burst forth in the songs of the Virgin, of Zacharias and of Simeon. This was the character in Judaism to which St. Paul was affectionately attached, but in the Gentile Church, which he contemplates in Ephesians II, "presented a rich and delightful compensation for all that was to be parted with in the literal Judea and Jerusalem. It is here in a systematic transfer and establishment of all that was permanently useful and intrinsically valuable in Judaism, that I seem to myself to find the Apostle's mysterious sense of the calling of the Gentiles".²

(e). St. Paul's use of such metaphors as "a building" and "a body" when describing the Church is a condemnation of independent Church-makers. The conception of the Church as "one body" cannot be applied loosely as if it referred to the invisible Church. "The object described is a body politic of the highest order, combining the different characters of a

1. Remains, Vol. III. p. 255.

2. Ibid. Vol. III. pp. 237-8.

household, a city, a commonwealth, a kingdom. As a household, it is *μεγάλη δίκαια* (II Timothy II, 20): and, be it observed, by the way, to the utter refutation of independent churchmakers, even as a house admitting heterogeneous mixture; 'in a great house there must be not only vessels of gold and vessels of silver, but vessels of wood and vessels of stone; and some to honour and some to dishonour'.¹

(f) The Reformation was Providential. Knox makes this clear by implication rather than by explicit statement. It is inferred from his attitude to the Roman Catholic Church as contrasted with his view of the Church of England, and further his whole doctrine of the Church is based on the belief that the Reformation was divinely inspired. The time had not yet arrived when certain Anglicans, like some of the Tractarians regarded it as a sinful schism, which is sufficient to account for a lack of statement on the matter in his writings. He clearly saw the need for reforms in the Romish Church, and that the Reformation had conferred a great blessing upon Western Europe by setting it free from mental slavery, and gross superstition. "Wretched would it be", says he, "that the human mind should always and everywhere be covered and fettered, respecting what most concerns it, by anything like that despotism which the Church of Roman has exercised".² He had a dislike for the Pope.

(g). It was Providential that only half Europe was

1. Remains, Vol. III. p. 242.

2. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 298.

reformed. He maintained that whilst it was necessary to reject the errors that had grown within the Roman Church during the mediaeval period, it was equally necessary to preserve the good that lay within it, and lest the treasures should go by the board with the rubbish, Divine Providence had seen fit to allow the old institution to remain. He believes that this is the way of divinely guided progress, and whilst it makes provision for new points to be gained, old acquirements are not lost. "Was it not then, worthy of Providence, when the ripeness of time came, to set one half of the Western Church loose, to go in search of new benefits, and to leave the other half on its old unaltered ground, in order, that by retaining everything, it might lose nothing".¹

(h). Continental Protestantism went to extremes.

In its reaction against the Roman Church, it emphasised the necessity of going back to the Scriptures, to the neglect of the interpretation of the Fathers. He rejects as resolutely as any Protestant the mental despotism of Rome, but with equal vigour, he opposes the principle that leaves each individual to model his Faith and conduct simply by his own interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, without any reference to the authority of tradition, for this means that the alternative for "everlasting imprisonment" is "everlasting vacillation".²

(i). The Character of the Church of England.

(1) Its Catholicity. The Church of England was a

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 366.
 2. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 298.

corrective of the Roman Church in that it rejected its abuses and superstition, but it refused to swing over to the other extreme of repudiating all the teaching within that Church, and accept nothing but the Bible. Because of this the Church of England "is not Protestant, but a reformed portion of the Church Catholic".¹ Its Catholic principles are demonstrated:-

First, in its identity of organisation with the ancient Church, which is seen in its episcopal form of government

Second, in its mental character. Knox loves most dearly the attitude of mind reflected in the composition of the Prayer Book. It showed that its compilers had profound reverence for antiquity, and that in the Liturgy, the tone and character of the early Church is preserved. He claims that the vitality of the Anglican Church "consists in our identity of organisation, and of mental character with the Church Catholic: and as our unbroken episcopacy implies the first, our Liturgy and that alone... contains the other".²

The Prayer Book is a standard of devotion and doctrine. "It is, virtually the transcript of what the Church has said, in its converse with God, from the very earliest period. It is, verbatim, what the Church has been repeating, without deviation or alteration from the sixth century".³

(a) Primitive piety is preserved in the Prayer Book. It was this element in the mental character of the Anglican Church that constituted its chief attraction for him. He relished far more

1. Remains, Vol. III. p. 300

2. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 69.

3. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 62.

its spirit, temper and devotional sentiment than its doctrines. The Liturgy contains Latin and Greek prayers. It breathes the spirit and atmosphere of the early Church, and thereby holds before its devotees the grand ideal of antiquity. It is this reproduction of primitive piety that guarantees the future of the Anglican Church. "What will make the Church of England live", he says to Hannah More, "is, that it has adopted and embodied, with singularly happy selection, the sublime piety of the primitive Church. This is done in the Liturgy".¹

(b) Primitive theology is preserved in the Prayer Book. This document reveals that in the judgment of the Church of England, "She is neither Calvinian nor Augustinian, but eminently and strictly Catholic, and Catholic only".² Above all he sees the preservation of primitive doctrine in the Communion Service. Amidst the scepticism and bitter controversy between contending parties of his age, he takes his stand on the Prayer Book. "I know nothing settled, in the whole reformed body, but the Liturgy of the Church of England. I do not add the Articles, not because I have any real quarrel with them, but because they have not, in any respect, the same intrinsic authority".³

Third, in its answer to the question of authority. The Church of England appeals to the early Church as the highest Court of Appeal, in its interpretation of the Scriptures. The adoption of this principle guards against the Roman Catholic extreme, on the one hand, which rates the Fathers on the same

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p.302.

2. Ibid. Vol.III. p. 49.

3. Ibid. Vol.III.p. 61.

level as Scriptures; and on the other hand against the Protestant extreme, which neglects the Fathers as interpreters of the Bible. The Church of England makes provision for progress in the knowledge of truth by making room for private judgment, but it does not leave the student of Scripture without guidance. It lays down the principle of 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est.' Whilst it holds in common with all other reformed branches, that all fundamentals must be referred to Scripture for their proof; it alone among these Churches gives a place to the concurrent voice of sacred antiquity. "The Church of England adopts one principle, which other branches of the Reformation hold in common with her, that fundamentals must have Holy Scripture for their basis, and that nothing is, or can be fundamental, which is not to be proved from the Sacred Word. But she also maintains a second principle, peculiar, I believe, in the great reformed body, to herself,- that in elucidating fundamentals, or in deciding secondary questions, relating not to the essence of Christianity, but to the well-being and right-ordering of a Church, the concurrent voice of sacred antiquity, the Catholic rule-'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus'- is, next to Sacred Scripture, our surest guide; and, in the matters to which it is justly applicable, a providentially authoritative guide, nay, more than providentially, rather, where the indication is clear, divinely authoritative, because Christ has said-"Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world'".¹

1. Remains, Vol.III. p.43.

(2) The Via Media of the Church of England. The re-union of Christendom which lay so close to his heart, and for which he worked with such unremitting zeal, gave him hope of realisation, as he contemplated the Church of England. He saw in its episcopacy, its preservation of primitive piety, and its transcript in the Liturgy of primitive doctrine, particularly in its teaching on the Eucharist, "a faithful exemplar of the purest Christian antiquity"¹, so as to form a rallying-point for a re-united Christendom. "In this profound appointment, I think it is the destiny of the Church of England, to form an intermediate link. If future union of the whole were to be provided for; if the basis of a temperament were to be laid into which both extremes were finally to resolve themselves, such a measure would appear indispensable. In this view, old Lord Chatham's well known jeer at the Established Church, as having a Popish liturgy, Calvinist articles, and an Arminian Clergy, may have had in it far more of the nature of an encomium, than either he or his hearers were likely to imagine".²

(j) Church and State. He sees the value of an establishment provided it is hierarchical, and so the same value cannot be attached to Presbyterianism even though it is State-aided. "What I intend by the term, consists far more in the interior organisation, than in any external alliance. An Hierarchical Church has the nature of an establishment, whether it is, or is not allied with the State. On the other hand, a

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 157.

2. Ibid, Vol. I. pp. 366-7.

body of mere presbyters, let them marshal themselves as they may, or let them have whatever support from the state, seems to me to want the essence of an establishment. In such a system, the majority told by the head, or an oligarchy equally incalculable, rules everything. There is no efficient check, no practical responsibility, no change-repelling instinct, above all, no congenializing connection with antiquity. Episcopacy implies all these".¹ He considers an Episcopal establishment a highly useful instrument for, (1) leavening the national life;² it is extensive and so makes for the spread of professional Christianity; it commands that at least religion shall be acknowledged in the land. (2) It enables men of higher intellectual powers to form their own religion. The very indifference of Establishments about individual conversions, leaves the intelligentia to give their consideration to religion and arrive at their own conclusion. (3) It preserves continuity. There is a certain sameness maintained by Episcopacy, with its "no change-repelling instinct", that makes it revolt against any innovation, and when an Episcopal Church is connected with the State, it is given a further pledge of continuity. "Ecclesiastical aristocracy derived a higher tone, from a conjunction with secular aristocracy. And the possession of honours and emoluments, increased the instinctive resistance to innovation".³ (4) It preserves primitive doctrine. He maintains that this has been accomplished within the Roman

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 387.

2. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 275.

3. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 387.

Catholic Church, where superstition and error have been allowed to envelop it, yet when shorn of its excrescences, vital truth may be found; "in the midst of a mass of strange opinions, and stranger ceremonies, a current of unvitiated, unabated truth, flows steadily down from age to age, widening as it flows, and yet losing nothing either of its depth or clearness. The plain fact, I conceive, is, that, because nothing whatever has been parted with, nothing valuable has been lost".¹ (5) It preserves primitive piety. The fact that the Roman Catholic Church has carefully preserved the writings of the Fathers, and bound itself by irrevocable pledges to abide by their concurrent sense, in matters of Faith and piety, has maintained within that Church the study of the Fathers, and has therefore handed down from age to age the grand objective of the early Church to cultivate the life of holiness. "The consequence has been, that, even in that corrupted establishment, the inward, experimental life of religion, and established radication and maturity in that life, have been more undeviatingly, and more luminously maintained, than in any other (externally better ordered) communion. And in the formularies, at least of our Church, there is of necessity the same recognition, because they are themselves a part of that model, which has been the means of continued uniformity in the instances now referred to".²

(6) It makes for regular progress. The continuity of establishments gives opportunity for each age to begin building

1. Remains, Vol. I. p.370.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. pp.375-6.

at the stage where the previous age left off, and so the erection goes up, layer upon layer, not only in accord "with the foundation, which supports all, but with all that has been already laid".¹ He sees these benefits accruing from Episcopal establishment, which could not have been secured "without external fences, and continuative ties, too strong to yield to vicissitudes of times, to collision of nations, or even to the well-meant efforts of good, but mistaken men. An establishment alone, I conceive, affords these provisions".²

(k). Sects. He maintains that sects are necessary, and are provided by the providence of God to re-animate Christianity. They have stimulated, roused and urged the Church to action. Some of them, like the monastic and eremitical institutions, remained within the Church, and others seceded; but all performed "a re-exciting function". ~~These~~ societies had been the precursors of the Reformation. "They had principally a prospective relation, to the great event in the sixteenth century. I doubt not, however, that they also had to a certain degree, an exciting effect".³ The great value of the sects lies in their emphasis upon evangelicalism. He considers that their providential end has been the conversion of individuals. The societies have gone out into the world to proclaim the redeeming love of God to their unredeemed brethren, and so they have been engaged in extension work, and to them is to be attributed the quantity of true Christianity,

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 402.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 387.

3. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 368.

which has been kept up from age to age, in the visible Church. He is not unmindful that it was in this form that Apostolic Christianity itself appeared.¹ He is satisfied that "without such a provision, Christianity must have perished through the fewness of its votaries".² Methodism was one of a series of these re-invigorating movements, but of all the succession of collective systems, since the eighth century, whilst all of them had answered a useful purpose, John Wesley's Methodism had been the very best.³ It had not only gathered home a great harvest of converts, but also had pointed the way to maturity in religion, and yet he feels bound to say that Methodists "have been much more the means of eliciting important and invaluable principles, than of numerously exemplifying them".⁴

According to Knox the defects of sects and societies are :- (1) They have been "nurseries rather than schools".⁵ The sects have distinguished themselves as converting movements, but their emphasis has been one-sided. They have insisted upon the beginning of the Christian life, without a corresponding insistence upon growth to maturity, and whilst Wesley had combined both principles, he failed to persuade his followers to maintain an equal emphasis, at least, he saw tendencies in the Methodism of his age to drift into line with similar preceeding societies. (2) They have been defective in the training of their children.⁶ While the adult converts remain in a state

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 84.
 2. Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 291.
 3. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 77.
 4. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 178.
 5. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 178.
 6. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 177.

of babes in spiritual things, it is a sign of the lack of self-education, which incapacitates them for the training of their children. They may be sincere and earnest, but their very earnestness may lead them astray in trying to make their children feel what they have felt. (3) Contact with the world seduces them. A sect begins by systematically renouncing the world, and living in a state of aloofness from it. It is an exclusive society, which has adopted the principle of unmixed simplicity in religion, and whilst it maintains this state of isolation, it preserves its purity, but as soon as it makes contact with the world, it becomes worldly itself. It has been observed that Wesley was faced with this problem.¹ He found to his profound regret that his converts remained heavenly-minded, so long only as they were persecuted, and that they began to love the world, so soon as they possessed it. They could not withstand the pernicious influence of the world, because they lacked maturity of religion, which would give them mastery over prosperity as well as over adversity.

Knox maintains that this is a characteristic of sects and societies. They lack stability, continuous progress and permanence. He does not point out these defects by way of blame, but as evidence of their temporary nature. They are raised by Providence for the specific purpose of re-invigorating Christianity, and when that end has been answered, they decay and die.

1. Vide p. 115.

(1). The two-fold system of sects and establishments is necessary; the former for the purpose of **reviving** Christianity, and the latter as indispensable depositories and guardians of truth.¹ The sects have stressed the energy of converting grace, and the establishments have been zealous for the ~~maturity~~ of holiness. "Each, in fact, fails as much in the work of the other, as he excels in his own work; and thus, as I imagine, they have gone on, severally, promoting a final great result".² He therefore sees no rivalry between the two systems. They are not opposed to each other in the great design of Providence, but rather complimentary; each contributing to the whole till the consummation of all things when the Church shall be finally completed, and the coping stone placed in its position.

He gives an imposing general view of Church history, in a long letter to Mrs Hannah More³, to support his teaching on the necessity of a two-fold system until the time is ripe for a final re-union of Christendom. He describes the one system as philosophical and emphasising the pursuit of holiness, and the other as dogmatic and stressing converting grace. He discerns a republication of this two-fold system in the two chief directions of the Evangelical Revival represented by Wesley and Whitefield. He passes down the ages beginning as far back as the pagan pre-Christian world with Plato and Aristotle, whose respective systems afterwards supported the different teaching of the opposite poles in the primitive Church- Chrysostom, with

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 367.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 182.

3. Ibid. Vol. III. pp. 103-230.

whom the Greek Church **very** nearly completed its work,¹ and Augustine, "the Doctor of Grace". The Platonic system served "as a support to Chistian holiness until the latter should be able to stand, by its own strength, through the full development of the true philosophy of the Gospel", just as the logical system of Aristotle became "no less a fence to the Christian doctrine of grace, than a support to individual weakness",² represented in the "go-cart religion" of Augustine. He sees in the division of the early Church into Greek and Latin a correspondence to the same two-fold system, and later the separation of the Reformed Church into Lutheran and Calvinist; the former rejecting Augustine, pursued piety, and became "a sort of successor to the Greek Church," whilst the latter has given new energies, and "furnished a new edition of the dogmatic theology".³ He brings within this framework his idea of the excellence of the Anglican Church. "In Britain (wonderful Britain!) the two great members of the Reformation meet; the Calvinist Church being established in the northern division, the Lutheran Church in the southern. In the former, no other organisation presents itself than what might have been looked for on a view of local circumstances. In England, as I have already been endeavouring to show, all is peculiar. In the Establishment, the theology, common to Luther and Melancthon, was adopted in the Articles; but the unmixed piety of the Primitive Church was retained in the daily Liturgy and occasional Offices. Thus

1. Remains, Vol.III. p. 127.

2. Ibid. Vol.III.pp. 141-2.

3. Ibid. Vol.III. p. 146.

our Church, by a most singular arrangement of Providence, has, as it were, a Catholic soul united to a Lutheran body of best and mildest temperament".¹

He sees a greater and grander design in the providence of God respecting the Christian Church than the salvation of individuals. Important as it is to convert the wicked, and to cultivate piety and virtue in the converted, it is not the supreme object of the Church, which is rather the coming of the kingdom of God in all its fulness. It is a "collective renovation" as well as individual virtue. It is nothing short of the establishment of a universal and permanent reign of righteousness on earth. The attainment of this goal can only be accomplished by an instrument adequate for the purpose, and having regard to this grand consummation, he sees the superiority of an Episcopal establishment over the sects, because the providential scheme of establishment is adapted (1) to extended and lasting effects.² It may and does diffuse a lower form of religion than the sects at their best, but it has the advantage of extensiveness, while the sects adopt the spirit of seclusion from the world, and, therefore, cannot be an agency adequate to the moral regeneration of society at large.³ Its progress is slow but sure. The sects are chiefly converting movements, and, consequently, they are intensely fervent for a period, but there soon comes an abatement of fervour. There can be no durability in any thing intense, and a religious revival, which is the cause and accompaniment of the rise of a sect, does not endure. An

1. Remains, Vol.III. p. 130.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 179.

3. Ibid. Vol.III. p. 275.

Episcopal establishment, however, as far as the individual is concerned, is not intended to be a converting agent, so much as to make provision for growth in piety. Thus it produces lasting effects. (2) "It is one and continuous".¹ This is seen in its unchanging organisation; its maintenance of the same doctrines, and its ideal of devotion which has continued down the ages, "while converting movements have been numerous and shortlived". (3) Because it is one and continuous, it is a scheme which "can be expected to evolve gradually".² Its extensiveness, durability and steadiness of operation point to the gradual growth of a system, which in the hands of the all-wise and gracious God, is an adequate instrument to effect the realisation of His great purpose in regard to the world and the Church, that in "the fulness of the times, to sum up all things in Christ, the things in the heavens, and the things upon the earth".³ He therefore claims that "reason, experience, and Holy Scripture, seem, to my apprehension, to put it past all doubt, by their united testimony, that the system of national establishments,- which commenced at the time of Constantine, and has been, providentially maintained, through various revolutions of civil and political society, to the present hour, - is, in spite of all its imperfections, that very growing scheme, by means of which will be finally accomplished, that general, and lasting renovation, of human society".⁴

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 179.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 179.

3. Ephesians, I. 10.

4. Remains, Vol. I. p. 179.

Section ii: An Estimate of his Doctrine.

(a) Did Christ found a visible Church ? Knox says, "yes" in the sense that He laid down the foundation. He dwells upon St. Paul's metaphors of "one body", and of "a building fitly framed together" and growing "into an holy temple", as representing one visible organised Church. This society is not depicted as an entirely new creation, but rather as formed after the model of an older, i.e., the old Israel . All that was valuable and permanent in the Jewish system has been taken over to the new. There is continuity of life and organisation. The Gentiles "were made nigh," which is equivalent to, "were made Jews". This is accomplished, by breaking down the middle-wall of partition; i.e., "not by disfranchising Jews, but by co-enfranchising the Gentiles".¹ It was a process of engrafture² of believing Gentiles,—"what follows, but that all which was valuable or beautiful, useful or amiable, in the one great member, must equally be found in the other great member; and that, whatever was naturally fitted and eventually conducive to any intrinsically noble purpose in the commencing stage, could not fail to be retained and made operative in the more mature developments of the process".³ Then he makes the further deduction that "the analogical Judaism of the Christian Church is derived from the will and act of its adorable Founder".⁴ It will be seen that he arrives at the conclusion, through a process of deductions, beginning with the Pauline Epistles and

1. Remains, Vol. III. 238.

2. Romans, XI. 23 f.

3. Remains, Vol. III. p.239.

4. Ibid. Vol. III. p.249.

working back to the Gospels, that Christ formed a basis for a visible Church. This process of reasoning at once exposes Knox to the charge of starting with a set theory, and then of adducing his evidence, till he arrives at his desired conclusion. This method is a common failing as Dr. Headlam has observed ¹, citing even Bishop Lightfoot as well as Bishop Gore as examples. Knox was not unaware of the weakness of this method of reasoning, and criticised it when it was adopted by others. It shows the infirmity of the human mind, that in spite of every effort to be fair and impartial, it is often unconsciously prejudiced by its pet theories.

That the New Testament represents a visible Church is undeniable. St. Paul speaks of "the Church of God which is at Corinth",² and "the Church of the Thessalonians".³ The Apostle had an exalted conception of the Church. The above quotation shows that he reminds the Christians at Corinth that he did not regard them merely as a number of believing Christians formed into a society, but rather as "the Church of God". It was a divinely instituted society. He strove with unremitting zeal to maintain the unity of the Church when it was in danger of dividing into Jew and Gentile. The question remains whether Jesus directly instituted a visible Church. Our Lord frequently used the expression "the Kingdom of God", and this implies a number of people bound together by common interests, and obeying a common law, which suggests a society; but "the Kingdom of God"

1. The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion, A.C.Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester, p. 4.

2. I.Corinthians, I. 2.

3. Thessalonians, I, 1.

cannot be identified with the Church, as for example, St. Augustine believed and expressed in his great work, 'De Civitate Dei'.¹ "The kingdom of heaven means much more than the Church, it is a term of wider signification; but there is a close connection between the two".² Without entering into the difficult and complex thought of the Kingdom of Heaven, it would seem that the predominant idea represented in the Gospels is that of the rule of God among men, and the Church is the chief instrument in effecting its realisation. There are passages in Knox where he confuses the two ideas. He says that "it was a Kingdom which our Lord purposed erecting", and so He was "solicitous to form a well-regulated polity"³ in the Church. Such a confusion naturally leads to the conception that Christ directly formed a visible Church.

When we turn to the Gospels themselves, we find that Jesus gathered around Him the Twelve "that they might be with Him".⁴ They became His companions, whose loyalty to Him was the condition of their attachment. It may therefore be said that He formed a religious society, and in this way He prepared for the Church. But He gave no explicit declaration as to any particular theory of the Church or form of Church government. He laid down no canon of Church government. "He did not directly found the Church. History shows, as theology has always taught, that this was the work of the Apostles".⁵

1. The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion, A.C. Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester, pp. 146-7.

2. Ibid. p. 20.

3. Remains, Vol. III. p. 249.

4. St. Mark's Gospel, III, 14.

5. The Doctrine of the Church & Reunion, A.C. Headlam, p. 27.

Whilst Knox does not definitely say that our Lord directly founded a visible Church, he does maintain that the functionaries appointed by Jesus, could not fail to suggest the line along which He desired it to develop. He sees in the establishment of baptism as the rite of admission into the society, corresponding to circumcision under the old dispensation; and in the inauguration of the Eucharist, with the command for its repetition an analogy to the Passover, that such a resemblance to Judaism was without question intended. Our Lord according to his view gave a "definite character and lasting direction" to His Church. There is no doubt that the new Israel of God sprang from the old Israel, and that in its development it bore many resemblances to it, but it is doubtful whether our Lord intended such a development, and certainly if this were essential to it, it is difficult to imagine that He would leave the matter without explicit direction. The tendency of Knox's teaching would be, to lead others less spiritually minded than himself, to consider the structural form of the Church as primary and essential, instead of secondary and useful, as a means whereby the mind and spirit of Christ, the Head of the Church, expresses itself. We must consider the Church "in terms of what is vital and not in terms of what is structural or formal".¹

(b) Knox maintained that Jesus established a ministry of two orders,² because He chose the Twelve corresponding to the twelve princes of the tribes, and sent forth seventy

1. The Evangelical Church Catholic, Dr. P. Carnegie Simpson, p.29.
 2. Remains, Vol.IV. p. 437. & Ibid. Vol.III.p.247.

corresponding to the seventy elders. It requires a stretch of imagination to claim divine sanction for a hierarchical Church government with such meagre evidence. It only forms a possible suggestion, but a theory of ecclesiastical government cannot be built on such a flimsy foundation. There is no mention in the Old Testament of the twelve tribes of Israel, each having a prince of its own. Jesus may have chosen twelve men because it corresponded to the traditional number of the tribes, and similarly the number seventy because it was significant, but it was significant in more ways than one. First, the seventy elders, whom God commanded Moses to appoint as his assistants, (Numbers XI, 16-17). Second, the number of the nations of the earth, (Genesis X). Third, the Sanhedrin, but as Dr. Plummer says whilst the first is the most probable, "we have no means of determining which of its various associations had most to do with its use on this occasion".¹ It seems therefore that whilst our Lord may have had old associations in mind when He chose these numbers, we cannot ascertain which one He intended. If He had said only a few words on the subject, the matter would have been settled, as it is, it must remain undecided.

It is clear that in the choice of the Twelve and the Seventy, Jesus had no intention of making them rulers to lord it over the others as in the case of the Gentiles. The Twelve were appointed not to an office, but for the double purpose of (1) that they might be His companions, and (2) that they might act as messengers in the work of proclaiming the Gospel and of

1. I.C.C. on St. Luke, Dr. Alfred Plummer. p.269.(2nd ed.1898).

healing the sick, whilst the Seventy were commissioned to prepare for Christ's teaching,¹ Jesus emphasises service and not authority. They were called to be labourers in the harvest. In the very passage in which He tells the Twelve that they "shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel",² He rebukes them for the contention amongst them as to "which of them is accounted to be greatest". Contrasting the law of His society with the kingdoms of the Gentiles, He says: "But ye shall not be so; but he that is greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve".³ It is impossible to trace the idea of a hierarchical Church government to the teaching of Jesus, and Dr. Headlam arrives at the conclusion, after a careful and impartial study of the documents, that there is no Biblical authority for episcopacy. We may look for principles, but we shall find no rules for the future of the Church. Episcopacy "had its origin in the Apostolic Church; ... but we cannot claim that it has Apostolic authority behind it. We must recognise that we cannot claim such authority for any Christian institution or teaching unless there is the clear and certain evidence of documents coming from the time of the Apostles, and we cannot believe that our Lord could have intended that any institution should be looked upon as essential to the existence of the Church without giving explicit and certain directions. He instituted the Eucharist and gave a command about Baptism, but He did not directly institute or

1. St. Luke, X, 1.

2. St. Luke, XXII, 30.

3. St. Luke, XXII, 26.

command Episcopacy".¹

It is only fair to add that Knox makes no claim that Episcopal Ordination is the only valid ministry. He recognises that God has called and used men in other types of Ecclesiastical orders to proclaim His redeeming love. It is difficult to harmonise this view with a conception that Christ established a ministry of two orders, with the intention that it should develop into a hierarchical government. I venture to hazard the opinion that with Knox's main emphasis on the culture of personal piety, he had not given sufficient time and attention to the subject of Church systems to form a consistent theory. He loved order, and recognised the idea of an objective Church. He endeavoured to point out that there was a continuity of life and organisation from Judaism right down the ages to his own time, but it can scarcely be said that he rated the external counterpart of the Church on a level with its internal spiritual life.

(c) Does the New Testament make room for a sacerdotal ministry? Let us consider the two passages upon which Knox bases his doctrine of a special priesthood: (1) Romans, XV, 16, where the Apostle describes his ministry in terms of priesthood. He is a priest of Christ to the Gentiles. He evidently regards himself as fulfilling a priestly function, but he uses this expression in relation to his preaching the Gospel, being the sacrificing priest of the Gospel of God, and the offering he made was the believing Gentiles,- "that the offering

1. The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, A.C.Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester. pp. 105-6.

up of the Gentiles might be acceptable". The offering is not a material thing, but a living sacrifice, (Romans XII, 1.). The Apostle is offering up to God the Gentile converts. As Prof. C.H.Dodd says: "It is in this truly spiritual sense that the Christian ministry is a priestly ministry. To deny its priestly character is to belittle its spiritual worth. Ministerial priesthood in this Pauline sense does not exclude the priesthood of all believers; for each individual Christian is called upon to dedicate his body as a living sacrifice. But the minister who brings men to Christ, and instructs and trains them in Christian living, is making that sacrifice possible, or helping to make it more real and complete".¹ There is room in this sense for a trained ministry.

The words of St.Paul do not set a basis for the idea that ministers of the Gospel are to be official priests in the literal sense of the word. Besides it would be unreasonable to build up a theory upon a single New Testament term. The whole of the New Testament teaching must be taken into consideration, and it is of supreme importance to bear in mind that our Lord regarded Himself in direct succession of the great Old Testament prophets rather than the priests, for all His quotations from the Old Testament point clearly in this direction.

Whilst Knox holds the New Testament and the Protestant view of the priesthood of all believers, his claim to have found in St. Paul's words, direct evidence for a special

1. The Epistle to the Romans, C.H.Dodd. p.227.

priesthood, and further that he sees in the idea an analogy to the Aaronic priesthood of the Old Testament shews that he at least countenanced an official type of priesthood.

(2) The other New Testament passage which he quotes in support of his idea of a special priesthood throws further light upon his theory. It is I Corinthians X concerning the Lord's Supper, where he claims indirect recognition in the words, "we bless and we break". He explains that the pronoun "we" refers to the Apostle himself and the appointed stewards, "who officiate in the Instituters' place". These words could be interpreted as meaning the Roman Catholic idea of a vicarious priesthood. The late Bishop Gore who would also make room for a special priesthood in the Church, repudiated the theory of a vicarious priesthood, and would only support the idea of a representative priesthood. Dealing with St. Paul's passage on the Eucharist he said, "the reception, for instance, of Eucharistic grace, the approach to God in Eucharistic sacrifice, are functions of the whole body, 'we bless the cup of blessing', 'we break the bread', says St. Paul, speaking for the community".¹ Dr. Lightfoot maintains that the Jewish priesthood was representative of the whole nation, and that it was this characteristic, which separated it from heathen priesthoods.² It is rather remarkable that Knox should seem to have given support to such an extreme view. It may have been that if he had dealt with the matter more fully, he would have conveyed a rather different

1. The Church and the Ministry, Dr. Chas. Gore. p.72. New ed. revised by C.H.Turner. (1919)

2. St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, Dr. Lightfoot. p. 182. Dissertation on The Christian Ministry.

impression, but as he only touched upon it, we can only accept the impression which his written words, brief as they are, convey.

(d) Knox maintains that the Jewish liturgical character was transferred to the Christian Church. It is true that the Church took over the Psalms, but it also took over the Historical, Prophetic and Wisdom literature of Judaism. Liturgical forms may have been used in the Apostolic Church but there is no evidence that worship was exclusively liturgical. It is not a rash assumption that a man like St. Paul, who strained the Greek language to give expression to his fresh and glowing Christian experience, would also give utterance to freshly conceived prayers. Stereotyped forms developed gradually in the sub-Apostolic age, but up to the year 150.A.D., there was no service book.¹ It cannot therefore be held with Knox that the liturgical character of Judaism was transferred to the Christian Church during our Lord's earthly ministry.

(e) The metaphors of "one body" and "a building" used by St. Paul for the Church are a "condemnation of independent Church-makers". This statement of Knox must be looked upon in the light of his whole teaching on the Church, and not as a single isolated saying. He was a firm believer in the organic unity of the Church. He mourned its divisions. He toiled untiringly for a better understanding between the divided portions, and believed that some day the Church of God would be re-united on earth. He was not content with a unity of spirit,

1. The Development of Christian Worship, Lects. by Dean Perry in New College, Edinburgh. (1934-5).

apart from a unity of the body. He claimed that the New Testament presented a picture of one Church. It is true that there were several local churches, but they were so linked up together, each local church derived from and dependent upon the universal Church, as to represent one Church,- the 'ecclesia' of God. "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."¹ The same conception of unity and solidarity is represented in the metaphor of "a building fitly framed together", and growing "into an holy temple". This was Knox's conception of the Church as presented in the New Testament. Consequently it gave no justification to a comfortable and complacent attitude towards the divisions in the Church. "This unity and solidarity", says Dr. Headlam, "of the whole Christian society is the fundamental assumption of the Apostolic history. The Church could only be one, and it must not be divided."² If This is the true conception of the unity of the Church as represented in the New Testament, then it follows that all real causes of schism are under condemnation. The question is, "Who have been the real responsible parties for disunion ?". The Roman Catholic Church excommunicates all who do not accept her doctrine, polity, and all else that she teaches, and regards her-self alone as "the One Holy Catholic Church". History teaches that she was badly in need of reforms at the time of

1. Epistle to the Ephesians, IV. 4-5.

2. The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion, A.C. Headlam
p. 76.

the Reformation, and it is an historical fact that those who fervently desired to reform her, were driven out and condemned as heretics. Dealing with the cause of schism at the Reformation, Karl Heim says: "Luther attacked no doctrine of the Church, nor aimed at reform in administration. He objected to the terrible abuses which crept in threatening the whole spirit of the sacrament of penance. Luther addressed his letters to the leaders of the Church and awaited reply. They should have been grateful, instead they immediately instituted proceedings against him as a heretic".¹ Luther endeavoured at first to effect reform within the Church. He had no desire to distinguish himself as an independent Church-maker. He diagnosed a disease, and offered a cure, and when the Church spurned his offer, the people followed Luther. The events of the eighteenth century in England were very much a repetition of what happened at the Reformation. John Wesley was a true Churchman and said: "I am now, and have been from my youth, a member and a Minister of the Church of England: and I have no desire nor design to separate from it, till my soul separates from my body".² Wesley's first objective was to seek "the lost sheep of the Church of England", but the doors of the Church were shut against him. He had no alternative but to preach in the open air .

In these as in other great schisms, the people who were responsible for the evil causes that led up to them are

1. Spirit and Truth, Karl Heim, (English Translation) pp.28-29.
 2. Quoted by Dr.W.J.Sparrow Simpson in his John Wesley and the Church of England, p.1.

under condemnation, but it must, first of all, be decided who the responsible parties are. The metaphors of "one body" and "a building" are an utter refutation of all who would separate from the Church on trivial points and rush to form new societies, and even of those who, on points of principle, break away before exhausting every possible means of finding a satisfactory solution. This attempt to elucidate Knox's teaching on this matter, seems to me, to fit in with his conception of the unity of the New Testament Church, together with his affirmation that the Reformation was providential.

A further explanation of his seeming paradox is to be found in his strange view of Divine Providence. He was a profound believer in the designs and over-ruling of Providence. He complains of the Sadducean spirit, "which would represent God as sitting on the circle of the heaven, and not regarding what is done, either in heaven, or earth".¹

He considers the whole region of Providence to be divided into an interior and exterior circle, and this view, he claims, is supported by the whole tenour of Holy Scripture. He says that the Bible does not say, that all things work together for the good of all, but specially for good, to those who love God. These are the people who comprise the interior circle, as the sincere followers of the Redeemer. He does not exclude little children from the divine guidance and protection. But, with this exception, the goodness of Providence, though boundless cannot be communicated to the selfish and the sinful, who are

1. Remains, Vol.II. p. 266.

regardless of the benefit. "Is it, then, unreasonable to suppose, that.... they who obstinately disregard God, and prefer living as brutes, to living as men, can be subjects for Providence to act upon, in little, if any other respect, than with reference to collective good?".¹ The world at large, therefore, is not the place where we can see divine Providence at work for personal good, but merely as a means for the good of the faithful. It is hardly conceivable that our Father in heaven, has a totalitarian view of the world. It does seem, however, a fact as Knox says, that "not only wicked men, but the unseen 'rulers of the darkness of this world', are daily and hourly making unconscious contributions",² to the accomplishment of the divine purpose.

He takes an even more adventurous step in his speculation and asserts that not only all men and movements are over-ruled for a divine end, but that errors are actually divinely appointed instruments and agencies, designed to fulfil some certain and necessary function, in the scheme of Providence. He conceives the errors and superstitions that grew and multiplied in the Roman Catholic Church, from the fourth to the eighth century as "not merely permitted, but, in some sort, ordered by over-ruling wisdom",³ for the purpose of spreading Christianity among nations of gross habits and narrow capacities. This was Knox's teaching of Providence, and although it is impossible to reconcile it with a belief in a God who is truth,

1. Remains, Vol. II. p. 260.
 2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 260.
 3. Ibid. vol. IV. p. 484.

it throws a flood of light upon his tolerant attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church, the Reformation, the sects and schism generally. He did not look upon the Reformation, merely as a struggle between contending parties, who were left entirely to themselves to fight a battle, but as an act of Providence. It was not due to any false move on the part of the Reformers, or disagreement among themselves, that they did not capture the whole of Europe, but it was within the designs of Providence that only half Europe should be reformed, in order that by retaining unaltered the unreformed Church, nothing might be lost. The sects were not independent movements, but they have a place and part to play in a great and noble purpose. The divided state of the Christian Church in the British Isles, may appear to an unphilosophical observer, as an "incalculable moral chaos", but to Knox, on the contrary, it "bears every mark of profound and exquisite order".¹ The Roman Catholic, the Reformed Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Dissenting Churches contribute to the good of one another, and under the scrutiny and guidance of Providence are moving towards a magnificent objective. The solution to the seeming inconsistencies of Knox's conception of the Church, is to be found mainly in his strange belief in Providence, which in him amounts almost to a passion. He was a professed Anglican with High Church views, and yet he was the intimate friend and enthusiastic admirer of John Wesley. He loathed the spirit of dissent, and yet he was the apologist of Methodism. He disliked Calvinism and Romanism, and yet he

1. Remains, Vol. III. p. 260.

defended both. The explanation is that he traced every movement to the providence of God, and so with an incurable optimism, he could look confidently to the future that ultimately all would be well.

(f) He maintained that Continental Protestantism went to an extreme in laying down the principle of "back to the Scriptures" to the rejection of the Catholic tradition. Whilst he holds that the Bible is fundamental on all religious matters, it does require an auxiliary for interpretative purposes. The weakness of the Protestant position according to Knox leads to (1) unfettered private judgement. "Protestantism...arose with re-awakened activity of intellect; it keeps pace with that activity; its leading principle is to make each individual intellectually active in matters of religion".¹ He argues that if you place nothing in the hands of this man, except a Bible, without definite encouragement and direction to use commentaries, and consult the teachers of the past, it will give him free and unlimited scope to form his private opinions and to consider them as final and conclusive. (2) It encourages a disputatious spirit. The freedom offered by this principle inevitably leads to theological chaos. It has no standard of judgement, and Knox cannot "rely on the Scripture for keeping multitudes in the same mind, from generation to generation, when, at the present hour, I scarcely see any two independent thinkers, exactly in the same mind about its meaning".² He can hope for nothing, but infinite confusion and everlasting vacillation

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 368.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 369.

among people with only the Bible in their hands. They will be at the mercy of every wind, without a principle to harmonise discords, and without a bulwark against error. (3) It weakens the devotional attitude. He maintains that the grand defect in the Protestant piety of his day, was the neglect of "all that God has been doing in His Church for seventeen centuries; and in attending solely to the mere unillustrated Word, they seem to me systematically to consign themselves to perpetual infancy in religion".¹ He admits that the path of piety has been trodden by Protestants. Several among them practise the religion of the heart, but, as a general rule, sects begin with much strictness and piety in religion, and then follows a decline till their piety almost peters out. The Bible itself does not prevent this declension. The only remedy is to seek truth by thought and reflection with the help of a reliable guide. But in the case of the sects "they have remained devout, just so long as they were content with being only devout. Whenever they have aimed at being wise, rapid divergement has been, I conceive, the uniform consequence".² (4) It means that Christians have to begin all over again. The Protestant principle, if rigidly applied, means that "things, even at the last, must remain nearly in the same state to which they were brought by the experience of the first generation".³ It is a method contrary to that which is used in all other sciences, it is contrary to common sense, retards progress, and precludes the possibility of accumulating

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 377.
 2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 378.
 3. Ibid. Vol. III. P. 300.

wisdom in the Church. (5) God did not cease to speak with the close of the Bible. Although no record can be comparable to the Holy Scripture, "still, subsequently to the close of the divinely recorded periods, the same substantial work went on. Luminaries of pure, steady, though less brilliant lustre, appeared, successively, in the hemisphere of the Church; and under the same ever-present superintendence, they bore witness to the truth, both in their teaching, and in their lives".¹

These are pertinent criticisms. He holds that the Bible contains all that is necessary to man's salvation, and that the holy men of succeeding ages were not raised to add anything to it, but rather commissioned only "to elucidate and enforce, what had been confirmed already".² He gives freedom to individual search for truth, and he himself was a fine example of an original and independent thinker, but the liberty he would allow is liberty within limits. He made provision for progress in religious truth through individuals, but he insisted that personal vision and experience should be checked by the concurrent voice of Catholic tradition. He clearly recognised the perils of individualism, and so left no unlimited scope for erratic persons. Knox quotes Bogue in his "History of Dissenters", Foster "On the Aversion of Man of Taste to Evangelical Religion" and Parkyn, editor of the 'Eclectic Review,' among Protestants who had testified to the folly of rejecting "the light held out by the wisest and best men of every preceeding

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 382.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 382.

age", in the study of the Scriptures. A modern scholar like Professor Carnegie Simpson holds the same position; for after quoting Dr. Skinner that "individualism is not the last word in religion", he adds: "and the full authority of truth is found where individual inspiration is supported by the concurrence of catholic Christian experience".¹

(g) The Church of England. It was apparent in the preceeding section that Knox was indirectly arguing for the principle of authority adopted by the Church of England on religious matters. It was what Vincentius Lirinensis called the "quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est". This principle of hearkening to the concurrent and continuous voice of tradition, steered clear of two extremes. It was the 'via media' between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Knox supplies evidence of the adoption of this principle by the Anglican Reformers², and apparently rightly maintains,³ that it is the peculiar maxim of the Church of England.⁴ This rule came into prominence among the Tractarians, but Knox calls attention to it as something in peril of being forgotten. Dealing with the subject, he says in a letter to Parkyn: "I am aware that I am making observations perfectly out of the common line; but I rest confident I am making them to one, who will not be prejudiced by their novelty."⁵

1. The Evangelical Church Catholic, Dr. P. Carnegie Simpson. p. 113.

2. Remains, Vol. III. pp. 66-8.

3. Cf. Essays Critical and Historical, J. H. Newman, Essay X. Catholicity of the Anglican Church, Vol. II. (1901).

4. Remains, Vol. III. p. 43.

5. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 284.

He has no doubt in his mind about the soundness of this principle, and in answer to those who say that this line of enquiry brings no satisfaction, inasmuch as they find Father against Father and Council against Council, he declares: "to me it appears that these men were disappointed, because they set out in error: they looked for that which it was unreasonable to expect,-unity in unessential opinions. They had little idea, it should seem, of the internal energies of Christianity: they regarded religion as a scheme of notional principles, to be believed; and of practical rules, to be obeyed. And seeking guidance in these instances, it was impossible they should succeed; for, in these respects, it clearly appears that human fallibility was greatly left to itself; probably, because change and variety here were as necessary to the general design, as stability and uniformity in matters vital. These could not suffer alteration without injury to the divinely destined purpose. In these, therefore, and in all matters essentially connected with these, we are warranted to suppose infallible superintendence - 'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world'; that is, self-evidently for all vital purposes. Here, therefore, let us seek; and, I conceive, we shall not fail to find; we shall find a harmony of feelings and a harmony of radical principles sustaining those feelings".¹ He would not maintain that later theologians should shape their opinions by the Fathers, but rather look for the fruits produced by their principles in temper and conduct, the frame of their life and the flow of their

1. Remains, Vol. III. p.284.

hearts.¹ He finds confirmation to the soundness of this principle in the New Testament. It is a recurrence to the Christian "cloud of witnesses", and "only to follow up, in our situation the self-same principle, which St. Paul acted on, in his day; with the advantage, on our part, of having to contemplate instances far more numerous, of inexpressibly deeper wisdom, and more exalted virtue".² These arguments carry conviction. He had given much thought and attention to this great and difficult question of the seat of authority in religion.

The principle of 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est' is a safeguard for the Catholicity of the Church of England. It means that when it is applied all private investigations are checked by 'the consensus omnium', and thus prevents any serious departure from what the Spirit of God has been teaching the Church in every generation. He sees a further sign and pledge of its Catholicity in its Episcopal form of government. "I see no pledge, no adequate means, for the continuity of truth, in an unestablished, unhierarchical communion".³ This idea throws an interesting light on Knox's conception of Episcopacy. It has been noticed that he regarded the hierarchy as divinely instituted, and that it is essential; but he never speaks of Apostolic Succession, and, on the whole, he considered it as something useful, as a means to an end, that it may be a safe depository of truth. This attitude of use towards a system is further revealed in his conversation with

1. Remains, Vol. III. p. 383.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 377.

3. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 370.

Dr. Adam Clarke, as reported by Parkyn.¹ He also regarded it as the best system to preserve and produce piety.

The Anglican reverence for Antiquity has also contributed to its preservation of catholicity. Its Prayer Book reproduces ancient piety, and it is this, that he prizes most in his beloved Church.

These characteristics of Anglicanism led him to the conclusion that, "She is neither Calvinian nor Augustinian, but eminently and strictly Catholic, and catholic only".² The commonly accepted view that the Articles of the Church of England are Calvinistic in doctrine goes against Knox's contention, and it seems very clear that he was not unaware of this Calvinistic tendency in its teaching, for he tries to establish his claim on the above mentioned general features, and particularises only in the following manner. (1) Their first homily calls St. Chrysostom that "great clerk and godly preacher".³ As no such tribute is paid to any other Father down to St. Bernard, it shows the special love they had for him rather than for St. Augustine, whom the compilers quoted "only in instances in which that truly great man was in harmony with the Church".⁴ (2) The selection of prayers for the morning and evening services evince the communion of the Church of England with the Greek, no less than with the Latin Church".⁵ This argument is at least interesting, and the very fact that he does not mention

1. Burnet's Lives, Introduction XXXV - XXXVI. (London edition)

2. Remains, Vol. III. p. 49.

3. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 45.

4. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 49.

5. Ibid. Vol. III. pp. 48-49.

the Articles shows that he could find little in them to support his contention, and further whilst he says elsewhere that he had no quarrel with the Articles, "their force arises chiefly, if not solely, from convention. They that had subscribed them are bound to them; but, to all others, they are but the sentiments of respectable men themselves, requiring the support of some more authoritative sanction".¹ This attitude towards the Articles is in striking contrast with that of J.H.Newman who, in Tract 90, contended that they were Articles of peace between England and Rome and thus evidence of uniformity of doctrine. The late Bishop E.A.Knox points out that the order of events had escaped the notice of Newman, for they were adopted in Convocation of 1562-3. They were the statutory interpretation of the meaning of changes effected by the Act of Uniformity, and an interpretation of the Prayer Book. "The Prayer Book was not a gloss on them, but they were a gloss upon the Prayer Book", and Dr. Knox holds that "the Anglican Articles were intended to be Articles of peace between Lutherans and Calvinists as common anti-papalists", and therefore contrary to Newman's contention that they were "a zeal upon the Protestanising of the Church of England".²

Knox would rather take his stand on the Liturgy as containing everything essential to Catholic theology. "I adhere" to the Liturgy "as the golden chain, which binds us, or rather as that silver cord (for so Solomon calls the spinal marrow)

1. Remains, Vol. III. p. 62.

2. The Tractarian Movement, E.A.Knox. p.6.

which unites us to the great mystical body; other parts of our constitution (such as superadded prayers and the Thirty-Nine Articles) were no doubt seen to be expedient, especially considering the middle point we were to occupy; and (I trust) the conciliatory function to be one day exercised by us".¹ He does not use the expression *Via Media*, which became current coin among the Tractarians, but it is evident from this and other passages that he had clearly conceived and expressed it. It was to him a way, wide enough to take in the traffic from the by-roads, each acting and reacting on the other, till all the roads of the different communions are finally made one.

The breadth of his vision is seen in his attitude towards the sects. He was not a narrow and rigid High Churchman. He recognised and appreciated the work which God had been pleased to perform through the sects. He valued the succession of experimentalists in the Church. That he entertained charitable views of the sects may be illustrated by his friendly relationships with Wesley and Methodism. When Southey's *Life of Wesley* was published, he expressed pleasure that the work had been done by no obscure writer, but he did not hesitate to criticise certain statements in it about Wesley's moral and religious character. Southey subsequently requested Knox to offer such remarks as had occurred to him in reading his *Life of Wesley*. In his reply, which was incorporated in the second edition, Knox expresses his disapproval of several of Wesley's ecclesiastical acts, but he makes every effort to correct some censures which Southey had

1. *Remains*, Vol. III. p. 69.

made. It is a carefully prepared statement and Knox admits: "I never wrote anything with thought or greater care". Similarly he defended the Methodists against attacks from High Churchmen, who lacked sympathy and understanding of interior religion. He complains that they have "rather suspected and discountenanced than explained or cultivated; until, from its being caricatured by vulgar advocates, inward religion is little less than systematically exploded. ...They involve in their attack, all that is venerable and valuable with that which is really exceptionable". He adds "were these men acquainted with the chain of traditional truth, which Divine Providence kept unbroken through the darkest ages, they would discover in the prayers which they continually read and hear, the well-digested substance of that, which they combat and vilify. They would find, to their confusion, that Gregory, the chief author of those prayers, was, what they, in their ignorance, would call a Methodist".¹

It is now admitted that if Wesley and his movement had been considered with sympathetic understanding, Methodism might not have developed as a separate body. There is a window in Chester Cathedral dedicated to John Wesley with an inscription acknowledging part responsibility for the development of Methodism outside the Church of England. Knox fully realised the danger of this attitude of aloofness, and sought to influence clergymen to exercise patience and understanding. He succeeded in winning to his way of thinking John Jebb, who though a High Churchman of an older type than Knox, became an admirer of John

1. Remains, Vol.I. pp. 58-59.

Wesley, and possessed the thirty-two volumes of Wesley's Works.

Just as he defended Methodism from outside attacks, so he endeavoured to use his influence with Methodists to avoid separation. He attended their annual Conferences at Dublin, and in a letter to John Jebb in July 1806, he says, after spending eight days with Methodists, "There are most excellent persons amongst them, and I will add, the truest churchmen in the world. But this is not, perhaps, the prevalent character".¹ He recognised and lamented the growing spirit of dissent among them, and he strained every nerve to check it, and although he was right in asserting that his efforts were in keeping with the spirit and teaching of John Wesley, he overlooked the fact that Wesley had been obliged to ordain his own Superintendents and Bishops for the work in America. This and the Deed of Declaration (1784) "may be taken as the date of the practical breach with the Church of England".² It was forced on him because of the unsympathetic policy of the Bishops. E.R.Taylor also reminds us that Wesley left no competent successor, and whilst he had striven to keep his people clear of political entanglements, the ideas of the French Revolution were in the air, and they could not escape them. "Democratic and Radical ideas such as were in the minds and on the lips of multitudes, crept into Methodism, and made its members regard with critical eyes the paternal government left by John Wesley".³ Knox's attitude and relationship with Methodism is indicative of his view towards the sects

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol.I. 262.

2. Methodism and Politics, E.R.Taylor. p. 50.

3. Ibid. P. 63.

in general. He recognised their value but he also endeavoured to avoid further divisions in the Church of Christ.

The burden of Reunion lay upon the soul of Knox, and he pleaded for it with all the intensity of his warm and affectionate nature. He had seen the vision and it never grew dim, for he speaks of the subject during the last months of his life. He was satisfied that the sects were a stage in the development of the Movement, playing a temporary part in a great divine scheme, and that when "reformed Christians become of one mind, and are brought nearer εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, then the massy concrete of the Roman Catholic religion may be safely and suitably dissolved".¹ In the meantime he cherished no hope of reunion with the Roman Catholic Church,² for the chief stumbling-block was the kind of Authority claimed by that Church over the mind and conscience, which to him appeared to be a tyranny. It makes no provision for growth in understanding, and he marvels that the internal spirit has not been wholly lost "in the gross sensitiveness of its external exercise";³ its superstition and corruption, and yet he is convinced that it has been preserved for a purpose. He would, therefore, "leave the Roman Catholic Church collectively and individually in the hands of Him who ordereth all things both in heaven and earth".⁴ He does, however, plead for a better understanding of Roman Catholicism, and a recognition that God has been pleased to work in and through it. And surely

1. Remains, Vol. IV. p. 608.

2. Ibid. Vol. III. pp. 314-330

3. Ibid. Vol. IV. pp. 607-8.

4. Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 483.

this is the first step towards any Christian reunion ! As Principal Rainy said: "The first step to approximation, not to say union, is recognition".¹ Knox was no dreamer on this matter. He was a thorough realist; "Were prejudice", he says, "wholly gone, what copious matter for profound, and interesting study, would that wonderful concrete of truth and error, of greatness and meanness, of beauty and deformity, the Roman Catholic Church, afford ! Viewed from without, and indiscriminately, nothing, having the Christian name, could be more uncouth or revolting. Still, under that rubbish, must be all the rich results of a providential training of Christ's mystical kingdom, for fourteen centuries; that is, from the close of the canon of Scripture, until the Reformation".² He maintained that the time was ripe for a juster appreciation of the treasures concealed within the Church of Rome.

The noble vision of this High Anglican; his deep personal piety; his charitable attitude towards all communions; his recognition of worth in each one, and his conciliatory language, produces an atmosphere entirely different from that which one usually finds among Anglicans of his day and generation. To read, for example, the works of A.M. Toplady, the change of atmosphere is at once noticed. They are cold and uninviting as compared with the warmth and attractiveness of Knox's writings. He stands almost alone in an age of partisanship for the desire and determination to work for the reunion of Christendom.

1. Life of Principal Rainy, Vol. I. p.179. Cf. The Evangelical Church Catholic, Dr. P. Carnegie Simpson. p.166.

2. Remains, Vol. I. p.57.

P A R T III

C O N C L U S I O N .

CHAPTER 13.
-----KNOX AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT .

The state of religion in the Anglican Church during the first three decades of the nineteenth century left much to be desired. It is said that the Liturgy was abbreviated, and that the sermons delivered were dull and moralising. The masses of the people were poor and ignorant, and although isolated individuals among the clergy articulated their grievances, "For the most part the clergy and Church laity were in favour of repressing dangerous ebullitions of popular feeling"¹, which had been stimulated and encouraged by the French Revolutionary ideas, and popularised by Tom Paine and others. The situation was rendered more complex by the Industrial Revolution, which had given rise to the mushroom populations in different parts of the country, and little provision was being made by the Church of England to meet the spiritual needs of these people in the new housing areas. The Church was badly organised and failed to move with the times. The system of Pluralities, until it was limited by the Church Pluralities Act of 1838, meant that many parishes rarely saw a clergyman. This state of affairs gave abundant encouragement to the spirit of anti-ecclesiasticism that was abroad at the time. The spirit of

1. Church and People, S.C.Carpenter. p. 18.

liberty had entered Parliament, where there was a growing desire and determination to introduce reforms into the Church. Bishop Blomfield of Chester, "a brilliant scholar and a bold fighter", reformed the clergy and organised his diocese. At the age of forty-two, he became Bishop of London. He used his immense influence and enormous energy to co-operate with the State to put the Church in order.¹ The Blomfield measures were disliked by the High Church party, which would rather take shelter from outside attacks behind a protecting State, whilst the Evangelicals made themselves unpopular on the one hand with their High Church brethren for championing the cause of the oppressed, and on the other hand with the Radicals because they were Tories.

Knox observes not without anxiety the widespread revolutionary ideas, and the growing spirit of anti-ecclesiasticism in the nation. He recognises that the Church exposed itself to criticism. "In the present state of things, wherever we look around, we see error or deficiency. The Prayer Book is used, without being felt; the Bible is distributed, without being understood; and religious controversy becomes more and more rancorous, while neither party distinctly apprehends the nature of the dispute, nor the strict points to be established".² The Church, he says, has no faculty for diffusing its spirit, and the preaching of the clergy does not come "from a Christian mind and heart. This is the great want in the preaching of

1. Church and People, S.C.Carpenter. pp. 89-109.
 2. Remains, Vol. I. p. 61.

today; there is no spirit in it".¹ And yet, in spite of her faults, he is confident that, "No Church on earth has more intrinsic excellence,.....Her excellence, then, I conceive, gives ground for confiding, that Providence never will abandon her; but her want of influence, would seem no less clearly to indicate, that Divine Wisdom will not always suffer her to go on, without measures for her improvement".² He dreads, however, to contemplate the results, should the "reforms" which were much needed be attempted by the State. He would prefer "the reducing of our Church to the state in which the French legislature have placed their late establishment, to the slightest parliamentary tampering with our Common-Prayer Book".³ He did not favour disestablishment, but should the State withdraw its patronage, and leave the Church in a state of depression, and probably an unpopular interest, it would have the purifying effects of persecution. The crisis would cause the hireling to flee, "because he is an hireling", whilst he who loves it for its own sake, would "experience affections of which till then he was unconscious".⁴ He believed that persecution would lead to a love of the hierarchy as distinct from the State. He foresaw in 1830 something of what happened after his death, when he says: "the destinies of the Established Church are at this time trembling on the balance".⁵

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol.I.p.14.

2. Remains, Vol.I.p.51.

3. Ibid. Vol.IV.p.613.

4. Ibid. Vol.I.p. 52.

5. Ibid. Vol.IV.p.612.

Section i: The Relation of the Parties within the Church
 of England to the Oxford Movement.

(a) The High Church party. Canon V.F.Storr says that "Knox diagnoses the situation exactly when he says that religious feeling in the Orthodox party has disappeared".¹ Knox describes "the old high Church race" as "worn out".² It possessed the framework of doctrine and organisation, but it lacked the life-giving force which animates the body. It was anti-evangelical, and anti-Roman, and treasured most its relationship with the State. The High Church party, however, influenced the Oxford Movement with its objective idea of a Church. It had been teaching its principles in private, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century Archdeacon Daubeney's "Guide to the Church" (1798) and Bishop Van Mildert's Bampton Lectures (1814), "An Enquiry into the General Principles of Scripture Interpretation", maintained High Anglican tradition, but it had its most influential centre outside the circle of the clergy in the Clapton sect.³ But this party alone could not have given birth to the Anglican Renaissance, which was essentially a religious movement, and Canon V.F.Storr declares that "a distinct gulf separates Daubeney and Van Mildert from Keble and Newman, whatever doctrinal agreement may have been between them".⁴

(b) Evangelicalism had two phases, doctrinally

1. Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century,
V.F.Storr. p.87.

2. Remains, Vol. I. p. 49.

3. The Anglican Revival, Dr. Y. Brilioth. p. 25. (1925)

4. Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century,
V.F.Storr. pp. 85-6.

diametrically opposed. The Wesleyan Methodists were the followers of John Wesley, and were Arminian in doctrine, whereas the followers of George Whitefield were Calvinistic in doctrine. The latter mostly remained within the Church of England, (except in Wales) whilst the former separated, but both emphasised personal religion to the neglect of the idea of Church. They attached little importance to history and tradition, and the conception of Apostolic Succession was given secondary consideration. The Evangelicals stressed experimental religion and were by common consent deeply spiritual. Dr. Liddon says: "the deepest and most fervid religion in England during the first three decades of this century was that of the Evangelicals".¹ If this party influenced the Tractarians in any way, it was through its insistence upon personal religion, which infused new life and warmth into the Church of England. Gladstone raised the question of the relation between Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement in his essay on "The Evangelical Movement; its Parentage, Progress, and Issue". He says that certain facts seemed to him to allow for the assumption "that the Evangelical movement may have stood in some relation of parentage to the Tractarian", and that, however paradoxical it may appear, "there may have been some further unseen relation between them".² There is also the undeniable fact that many of the Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic leaders came from Evangelical

1. Life of E.B.Pusey by Dr.H.P.Liddon, Vol.I. p.255.

2. Gleanings of Past Years, W.E.Gladstone. Vol.VII.pp.224-5.
 Essay reprinted from the British Quarterly Review for July 1879. Cf. The Evangelical Revival, Dr.Brillioth.p.25.

surroundings. This suggestion of a causal connection between the two movements has been emphatically denied by Dr. E.A.Knox, who says that "of popular misconceptions concerning the Tractarian Movement none is more misleading than that which regards it as a continuation or outcome of the Evangelical Movement".¹ He goes on to say that in the early part of the nineteenth century, there was a great revival of religion throughout Europe. That revival took two forms, (a) the Evangelical which was progressive, associated with humanitarian reforms and world-wide missionary enterprise, (b) the other, the Tractarian which was reactionary, guided by Romanticism, and the desire to re-establish the rule of the clergy over the laity. Dr. Brilioth dealt with this question in his "Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement",² in which he makes out a strong and convincing case in favour of a causal connection between the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century, especially in its Wesleyan form, and the Anglican Renaissance of the nineteenth century. He argues that through Evangelicalism, England was once again linked up with the Reform Churches of the Continent. Knox had discerned the connection between Wesley and Lutheranism through his (Wesley's) Moravian teacher. Thus the field of vision expands before Brilioth, and he maintains that the relation of Evangelicalism to the Oxford Movement must "include the larger problem of the place of the Oxford Movement in the

1. The Tractarian Movement, E.A.Knox. p. 53.

2. Lectures delivered during the centenary year of the Oxford Movement.

history of the Reformed Church, the Evangelical Church in the largest sense".¹ He points out that Newman's ignorance of German led him to judge it from the evangelicalism he had known in his youth, and so he stopped half way, which he considers a fatal factor in the history of the Oxford Movement. Dr. Brilioth illustrates the re-action of opposites upon each other by adducing the case of the Evangelical Revival in Germany, which under the influence of the romantic, and partly re-actionary spirit of the age, called forth a new Lutheran orthodoxy, and also led to a re-discovery of the Church and of Sacramental worship. He mentions as its representative, the name of Wilhelm["] Løhe, Rector of Neuendettelsau in Bavaria, who held a high doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments. This leader had been influenced by a movement from without, not unlike English Evangelicalism, and through him, new life and warmth was infused into the institutional Church.² He also mentions a parallel case in the Swedish Churchman - Henric Schartau, who passed through an individualistic evangelicalism into an exalted view of the Church.

Dr. Brilioth traces the links in his second lecture between the Tractarians and Evangelicals. Newman and others were indebted to evangelical influences for their earliest religious impressions, and most important of all, both the Tractarians and the early Methodists had in common a longing for holiness.

1. Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement,
Dr. Y. Brilioth. p. 8.
2. Ibid. pp. 12-15.

There is much force in these arguments. Tractarianism could not have appeared as a deeply religious movement simply by a reiteration of Apostolic Succession. There was something fundamentally personal in its emphasis upon holiness, so that whilst it was a revival of institutionalism it was institutionalism rejuvenated. Wesley had a deep regard for Antiquity; he insisted upon frequent Communions; and like the Lutheran pietists, stressed fellowship. He was perhaps less individualistic than Newman, who was only conscious "of two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator".¹ Newman's letter to Palmer shows the important place he gives to an individual, in furthering a cause; "no great work was done by a system; whereas systems rise out of individual exertions. Luther was an individual. The very faults of an individual excite attention; he loses, but his cause (if good and he powerful-minded) gains. This is the way of things; we promote truth by a self-sacrifice".² Dr. Pusey gives prominence to the personal aspect in religion. He says : "to be in the Church is to be in Christ, a member of Christ, they only are in the Church who are living members. For branches really withered are not in the vine, but cast out".³ "In the teaching of Keble, Pusey and Newman and the Tractarians generally the relationship of the individual soul to God was just as important as in the teaching of John Wesley. But the

1. Apologia Pro Vita Sua, J.H. Newman. p. 4. (new ed. 1895)

2. Ibid. p. 42

3. Sermons during the season from Advent to Whitsuntide.
Preface IX. 1848. 2nd. edition.

importance of that relationship was not to be thought of as transcending the importance of the Church".¹ The Tractarians possessed religious fervour, and emphasised preaching; and in this, were quite distinct from their immediate High Church predecessors, and were more akin to the early Methodists. Dr. Brilioth sums up the position very clearly when he says: "Evangelicalism has its large share in bringing about the new Anglicanism of the later nineteenth century; it is, so to say, one of its component parts. This may seem to be a paradox, and it certainly does not hold good, if in Neo-Anglicanism one only sees a certain conception of the Church, its functions and ministry. But it has also another and perhaps more essential side. It is a profoundly and entirely religious movement. It kindles the 'enthusiasm' which was excommunicated in the old system, and it wakes to life an intense need of devotion and a thirst for holiness, which makes it worthy of a high place in the history of religion, whatever one may say of its Church conception. It is in this, it seems to me, that we have a right to see in Neo-Anglicanism the heir of Evangelicalism".² If this be so, -and it does seem a more reasonable explanation of the rise of Tractarianism than the theory that it sprang almost out of nothing, and that there is no bridge to span the chasm from the Non-Jurors to the Tractarian, -then, if a connecting link can be found between John Wesley and the Oxford Movement, it gives added force to the above explanation. Knox inherited his

1. Oxford Apostles, A character study of the Oxford Movement, Geoffrey Faber. p. 343.
 2. The Anglican Revival, Dr. Y. Brilioth. p. 42.

evangelicalism from John Wesley, and like him he was a broad High Churchman who believed the Church of England to be truly Primitive and Apostolic. But he carried these ideas a stage further which increased his resemblance to the Tractarians. John Wesley, for example, seems to take for granted that the divisions in Christendom constitute the normal state of the Christian Church¹, but Knox has a deep desire for the reunion of Christendom, and attempts to point the way towards the goal. He lays greater stress upon the idea of a hierarchical Church government than his "old friend", but he clearly recognises that a system, however admirable, is utterly unable to function adequately, unless it possesses vitality to animate the body. Consequently he can plead for the Establishment, and at the same time, declare his disagreement with the class of High Churchmen in England on leading points.² He can see and appreciate the value of Evangelicalism for maintaining experimental religion, whilst aware of its defects, especially its want of the idea of an objectivised Church. He deplored the state of the Church of England with its party spirit which blinded each side to the value in the other, and thereby hindered progress. He saw that ecclesiasticism, and evangelicalism were complementary to each other. He, therefore, advocated (1) a revival within the Church of personal religion,³ "until" he says "our Churchmen

1. John Wesley and the Church of England, W.J. Sparrow Simpson, 17.

2. Remains, Vol. I. p. 357.

3. V.F. Storr contrasts the religious views of Knox with Thomas Erskine of Linlathen (1788-1870), and points out that whilst the thought of the two men was very different, yet in one point they agree. "Both had the cause of Spiritual religion at heart, and vindicated the claim of the Christian consciousness". This is very interesting, and as he says: "remarkable that two laymen, Erskine and Knox, should have so decisively influenced the course of theological development in those early years of the 19th cent." Cf. Development of English Theology in the 19th century, p. 353.

make this discovery, they will injure what they mean to defend"¹; and (2) a promulgation of Church principles. He calls himself a Christian of the first three centuries in regard to the Catholic Church, and a Christian of the seventeenth century in regard to the branch of its Established Church in England. It is in the fusion of these two ideas, that the importance of Knox lies as a connecting link between John Wesley and the Oxford Movement.

Section ii: The Elements in common between Knox and the Oxford Movements-

(a) 'Via Media'. This theory of the Church of England was elaborated by the Tractarians, and was perhaps their leading conception in the early years of the movement.² The expression was coined by J.H. Newman, and expounded by him in his Tracts for the Times, Nos. 38 and 40. They take the form of a dialogue, in which Clericus defends his position to Laicus against charges of popery. He bases his argument on the Prayer Book and the Articles, and deals with the alterations in the second edition of the Prayer Book, which tended to a more Protestant teaching, under the influence of the "foreign party". He advocates the need for a second Reformation, and a return to the doctrine of the first Reformers, who, he says, recovered the primitive principles which the Roman Church had concealed and distorted. "Be assured" says Clericus "of this - no party will be more opposed to our doctrine, if it ever prospers and makes noise, than the Roman party. This has been proved before

1. Remains, Vol. I. p. 59.

2. The Anglican Revival, Dr. Y. Brilioth. p. 47. (1925).

now. In the seventeenth century the theology of the divines of the English Church was substantially the same as ours is; and it experienced the full hostility of the Papacy. It was the true 'Via Media;' Rome sought to block up that way as fiercely as the Puritans did".¹ But if Newman framed the phrase and popularised it, Knox had clearly conceived the idea as early as 1813, "What perverse influence the nick-name of protestant has had on our Church ! Ever since this epithet became fashionable, its vulgar definition has had more authority with churchmen themselves, than all the settled standards to which they were bound; and the consequence has been, a steady increase of ignorance, coldness, and vacillation. It will, perhaps, at length be discovered, that there is a medium between the two extremes, which combines the advantages, and shuts out the evil of both; which Vincentius Lirinensis clearly marked out, in the fifth century; and which at this day exists nowhere, but in the genuine central essence of our own reformed episcopal Church".²

It has been pointed out in a previous chapter that whilst Knox had a preference for the Church of England, and believed it to be destined to form an intermediate link, he candidly acknowledges the value of other communions in the divine scheme, and by implication would have them bring all that was permanently valuable in their distinctive teaching, into the desired re-united Church. The Tractarians lacked this breadth of vision, and the vision narrowed as the movement

1. Tracts for the Times, No. 38. re-published in The Via Media of the Church of England, Vol.II. pp. 25-26. J.H.Newman.3rd ed
 2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.II. pp. 122-3.

developed. Dr Brilioth says: "It is certainly no idle fancy that the 'via media', in some of its forms, has become so one-sided, so absorbed in the contemplation of one of the great extremes, so eager to imitate the outward dress of the Roman Church, and to enter into its peculiar ways of thinking, that there is a real danger,.....that it should leave the middle path, cease to be something in itself, a genuine line of development within the one Church".¹ The same writer sees in the teaching of Knox, "a depth and range of vision which makes the Neo-Anglican conception of the Church appear narrow and poor".²

(b) The Catholic principles of the Church of England. (1) Its Episcopacy, which maintains an organisation identical with the Primitive Church. Knox considers this form of government as highly valuable, but the absence of a dreary reiteration of Apostolic Succession in the writings of Knox, is a striking contrast to the Tracts for the Times. It was in his estimation a help towards re-union, and not a barrier to it, as it would seem with Newman, who dealing with the subject, says: "With this reflection before us, does it not seem to be utter ingratitude to an astonishing Providence of God's mercy, to attempt unions with those who have separated from the Church, to break down the partition-walls, and to argue as if religion were altogether and only a matter of each man's private concern?"³

(2) Its principle of 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est'. Knox attached as great importance to

1. Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement, Dr. Brilioth p. 67.
2. The Anglican Revival, Dr. Y. Brilioth. p. 49.
3. Tract for the Times, No. 20, The Visible Church, Vol. III. p. 3.
Cf. The Anglican Revival, Dr. Brilioth. p. 188. (footnote)

this maxim as the Tractarians did after him. "I find," he says, "or I think I find, the 'quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est,' an equally sure guide; both as to belief and practice, and while, I am in rational unison with this concurrent voice, I seem to myself to be, in some measure, within the citadel of that mystic city".¹ He speaks of it as something which requires to be taught afresh in the Church of England. "I do not say it exists in our Church, in a perfect form; I think it rather exists in it, as the little bird in the egg, when incubation has gone a certain length, but is not yet completed", and he adds, "perhaps even incubation is yet to come; but we have the principle, as it is not elsewhere to be found".² The incubation did come with the Tractarians. This maxim was dealt with in Tract No.78, and recurs frequently in the literature of the Movement.

(3) The Church of England has preserved primitive piety in its Liturgy. He saw in it a link which unites the Church with Antiquity. The same thought is developed by J.H. Newman in Tract No.40, where he contrasts the Protestant emphasis upon justifying faith with the language and spirit of the Liturgy³, which established contact with the early Church.

(c) The revolt against speculative intellectualism. Knox laments the disputatious spirit of his age, and saw in it one of the chief hindrances to the cultivation of the devotional life. The kind of Protestantism that would encourage every

1. Remains, Vol.I. p.287.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.II.p 123.

3. Via Media, J.H.Newman. Vol.II. pp 38-9. (3rd.ed)

man to form his own private judgement, without the assistance of a guide, laid undue emphasis upon reason, which resulted in the neglect of the one thing needful. The Tractarians adopted a similar attitude of anti-Rationalism. Newman's distrust in the guidance of reason showed itself about the years 1827-8, and was perhaps the deepest factor that led to his rejection of Liberalism.¹ Several circumstances may have contributed to his belief in the supremacy of Faith over Reason, but the deep and fundamental cause for the change is to be found in the belief that holiness is the chief objective of the Christian. What was true of Newman was also true of the Tractarians in general, as was clearly seen and stated in the 'Edinburgh Review' that "the great and almost exclusive prominence given to the moral part of our nature with a sort of hatred of the authority of reason. This is the key-stone of their whole system".²

(d) Reverence for Antiquity. Knox was well versed in the Patristic Writings, and in his letter to J.S. Harford, "On the Fathers of the Christian Church", he says: "the main excellence of the Fathers" is "the evidence which they give to the efficacious grace of the Gospel, and...their not embarrassing this one thing needful with any dogmatic accompaniments".³ Newman began a systematic study of the Fathers in 1828, which resulted in his most important work, viz. "The Arians of the Fourth Century" (1833), but the most powerful stimulant for the revival of Patristic study was "The Library of the Fathers",

1. The Anglican Revival, Dr. Y. Brilioth. p. 112.

2. Edinburgh Review for April 1836, A critical review of Newman's The Arians of the Fourth Century. Cf. The Tractarian Movement, E.A.Knox. p.101.

3. Remains, Vol. III. p. 282.

completed in forty seven years. The aim and motive of both Knox and the Tractarians were to discover an authority above that of reason.

(e) Regard for the Greek Church. S.C.Carpenter makes the interesting observation that Knox "anticipated that revival of the knowledge and love of Greek theology which afterwards appeared in Maurice and Westcott".¹ Knox loves the emphasis of the Greek Fathers upon the doctrine of holiness. He says: "they are all collectors of gold, silver, and costly stones",² while the Latin Fathers laid down a foundation and built up a system. He speaks of the early Greek Church as "that noblest portion of ancient Christianity", and although a dark period has intervened through ignorance, it is "not debased by any such tyranny, nor corrupted by any such traffic as have been the scandal of the Romish Communion". He expresses the hope for increasing intercourse between the Anglican and the Greek Church.³ The Tractarians showed similar leanings towards the Greek Church in the early years of the Movement.⁴

(f) Love of the Liturgy. Knox speaks of the Liturgy with much affection. It is a standard of doctrine as well as of devotion. It combines the sublimity of St. Chrysostom with the solidity of the better part of St. Augustine, and without it a Whitefield and a Wesley could never have arisen. "In the Liturgy, and in that exclusively, I seem to myself to find the 'Decus et Tutamen' (under God and his Christ) of the

1. Church and People, S.C.Carpenter. p.85.

2. Remains, Vol.III. p. 280.

3. Ibid. Vol.III.pp. 210-12.

4. Church and People, S.C.Carpenter. p.415.

Anglican Church; its citadel and its temple in one, as far as any visible institution can be such".¹ He discerns the dispensation of Providence in the changes wrought in the Book of Common Prayer during the first century of its history. "What then, can we suppose, but that those changes were meant by Providence to subserve ulterior movements; to lie dormant, as it were, until nearer 'the time of the end',- when it might suit the order of Providence that what was before deposited as seed should grow up into a rich and luxuriant harvest".² John Keble showed the same devotion to the Liturgy to which Knox gives expression, and emphasises "that soothing tendency",³ and Isaac Williams in Tract No.86, speaks of the "indications of a Superintending Providence in the preservation of the Prayer Book, and in the changes which it has undergone". Sir W. Palmer in his "Origines Liturgicae", or Antiquities of English Ritual, with a Dissertation in the Primitive Liturgies", pointed out the Catholic history and the Catholic significance of the Book of Common Prayer. In his address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he assures him of his and his associates devoted adherence to the Apostolic Doctrine and Polity of the Church of which "we are Ministers; and our deep-rooted attachment to that venerable Liturgy, in which she has embodied, in the language of ancient piety, the Orthodox and Primitive Faith".⁴

(g) The longing for holiness. It has been pointed

1. Remains, Vol.III.pp. 63-4.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 54.

3. The Anglican Revival, Dr.Y.Brillioth, p.74. (1925)

4. Church and People, S.C.Carpenter. pp. 117-118.

out in Chapter 10, that Christian Perfection was Knox's favourite theme. The thirst for holiness was also the life-giving force in Tractarianism, as Dr. Brillioth says: "the strongest driving force was the longing for holiness".¹ It was not by accident that Newman's first sermon in his "Sermons Plain and Parochial" is entitled, "Holiness necessary for future Blessedness". When censured by his Bishop for the line of thought expressed in Tract.No.90, Newman took his stand on the same doctrine as his place of refuge. "It is sanctity of heart and conduct which commends us to God. If we be holy, all will go well with us. External things are comparatively nothing: whatever be a religious body's relations to the State- whatever its worship - if it has got the life of holiness within it, this inward gift will, if I may so speak, take care of itself. sanctity is the great Note of the Church. If the Established Church of Scotland has this Note, I will hope all good things of it; if the Roman Church in Ireland has it not, I can hope no good of it. And in like manner, in our Church, I will unite with all persons as brethren, who have this Note, without any distinction of partyand I have long insisted upon it, that the only way in which members of our Church so widely differing in opinion at this time, can be brought together in one, is by a 'turning of heart' to one another".² This passage shows that Newman like Knox considered holiness to be "the one thing needful" and, if any Church bore this mark it is good. Apostolic

1. The Anglican Revival, Dr.Y.Brillioth. p.260. (1925)

2. Newman's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, cf. The Via Media Vol.II. p.408. (3rd.edition).

Succession as well as other external things, according to this letter were not essential. "Here" says Dr.Brillioth "he (Newman) is led for a moment up to a spiritual height which has too seldom been reached in the history of Neo-Anglicanism or Newman's own".¹

The above are some of the elements in common between Knox and the Oxford Movement. It may be further added, that the early Tractarians like Knox² had little use for ritualism. Writing to Dr.Wm.Bright in 1873, Dr.Pusey says: "I have a thorough mistrust of the Ultra-Ritualist body,... I do fear that the Ritualist and the old Tractarians differ both in principle and in object".³ It is also worthy of note, that whilst the Tractarians are usually credited with having brought about a revival of the popularity of the Eucharist, Wesley had emphasised frequent Communion, and Knox had found in it the centre of his religion, and in a letter dated 1814 speaks of "the crowds which throng our altars at the Festivals".⁴

Section iii: How far were the Tractarians indebted to Knox ?

No attempt will be made at an exhaustive reply to this intriguing and important question, but rather I shall simply state some of the views already held on the subject; adduce evidence to show the attitude of the Tractarians themselves to Knox and point out the way in which Knox prepared the ground for the Anglican Renaissance.

Prof.G.F.Stokes in an Article in the "Contemporary

1.The Anglican Revival, Dr.Y.Brillioth. p.159.

2.Remains, Vol.IV.p.608.

3.Life of Dr.Pusey by Dr.Liddon. Vol.IV.p.271.

4.Remains, Vol.III. p.257. Cf.Dr Brillioth's Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic:p.215; "Alexander Knox, a generation before(the Anglican Revival) had given a moderate and thoughtful expression to the element of mystery in the Sacrament".

Review" for August 1887, put forward the theory that Knox is "the secret, the unacknowledged, but none the less the real fount and origin" of the Tractarian Movement¹, above all, is the mediator or channel connecting it with John Wesley. He points out the similarity of views among them on such fundamental questions as justification, and sanctification, their nature and effects; the two Sacraments, and frequent Communion; the best methods of promoting Christian piety, and the recommendation of the same spiritual writings for this purpose; prayers for the dead, which he considers to be the most striking point of agreement; and reverence for Antiquity with Knox's enunciation of the famous rule of Vincent Lerins. He sums up his theory in Biblical phraseology that "Wesley begat Knox, Knox begat Jebb, Jebb begat Rose, Rose begat Pusey, and Pusey begat Newman".

The above article setting forth a direct dependence theory was vigorously denied by Dean Church,² He maintains that Professor Stokes' theory is based on insufficient evidence, and that whilst there is a similarity of views among them, he fails to see why the Tractarians should go to Knox in Ireland, whom they scarcely knew or to the teaching of Wesley, the result of whose Movement they so deeply disliked, when they had other sources for their teaching. He claims

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1. The Christian Observer for November 1838 describes Knox as "the modern lay father" of Tractarianism.
 2. The Guardian, September 7th, 1887. It is interesting to find that Prof. Stokes' Article provoked a reply in the Record, in which the Evangelicals showed great indignation, and thought he had done an ill service to the memory of such good men as John Wesley, by connecting him with such a mischievous Movement.

that "the Oxford men found their doctrines where Wesley in his earlier days found them," and where Knox afterwards found them, that is, in the great and classical English Divines, and then in the Fathers, but "they assuredly did not find them through either Knox or Wesley".

The controversy was continued in three more articles in the three consecutive issues of 'The Guardian', but unfortunately it developed into a sort of rival national claim for the honour of the fatherhood of Tractarianism. Prof. Stokes accuses Dean Church of prejudice, whereas the latter denies that his article was "an explosion of anti-Irish scorn", and that his objection arose from the wound to "National Amour-Propre". The controversy, however, concluded without a convincing reply to Dean Church's assertion that this challenging theory of direct dependence is based on insufficient evidence. The actual material supplied by Prof. Stokes, whilst indeed helpful and contributory, does not justify the far-reaching conclusions he infers from it. That he himself was forced to this opinion is quite evident from his explanation of his use of the phrase "Wesley begat Knox etc.," which amounts to a qualification. He says that he had no intention "of ascribing the actual theological conversion" of those mentioned to Knox. "As far as my argument is concerned", he says, "Keble, Newman or Pusey might never have read a line of Knox or Jebb, and yet have imbibed an intellectual atmosphere credited by them. I am not so foolish as to imagine that I could discover the exact influences, books, personages which

have determined the convictions of individuals, and can necessarily be known only to themselves. But he adds "we can trace if we take sufficient trouble, the literary influences which have helped to generate great social and religious movements". He expresses the hope that he may at some future time return to the subject, and describe not merely the influences which form the atmosphere in which Tractarianism was generated, but also the actual facts and circumstances of its birth".¹ It does not seem that his hopes were materialised, nevertheless he is fully justified in his claim that the matter is not finally settled. There is room for further research into the subject, which might reveal a closer connection between Knox and his pupil Jebb to the Oxford Men than as yet has been definitely proved.

The early histories of the Oxford Movement give but little attention to Knox, and when they do mention him, it is, as Dr.Brillioth quite rightly says:"with a certain irritation",² they reject a thought which seems to rob the Tractarians of their originality. Dean Church displays this attitude in the above mentioned controversy with Prof. Stokes, and again in his history of the Oxford Movement. Although he recognised in the works and sermons of Bishop Jebb matter akin to that dealt with by Neo- Anglicanism, and hears in these "echoes of the meditations of a remarkable Irishman, Mr.Alexander Knox",³ he

1. The Guardian for September, 28th, 1887.

2. The Anglican Revival by Dr.Y.Brillioth, p.332.(1925)

3. The Oxford Movement,Dean Church p.28. (3rd.ed. MacMillan)1891.

expressed the view that it was not till the Movement had taken shape that its full significance was realised. Dr.Liddon states categorically that the Tractarians "were not indebted to him (Knox) for anything that they knew of Catholic antiquity or Catholic truth".¹ He criticises Knox's estimate of the Fathers as not always deferential and modest. "He did not look upon antiquity as having an authority distinct in kind from that of any section of modern and divided Christendom; he criticises St.Augustine as though he were equally in error with Calvin".² He says in a footnote that he actually heard Dr. Pusey state this in a conversation as the reason why the Tractarians did not make more use of Knox. He also quotes in this connection a letter by John Keble which gives expression to the same reason for rejecting Knox. "Surely", wrote Keble, "it is rather an arrogant position in which Mr.Knox delighted to imagine himself, as one on the top of a high hill, seeing which way different schools tend (the school of Primitive Antiquity being but one among many) and passing judgment upon each, how far it is right, and how well it suited its time - himself superior to all, exercising a royal right of eclecticism over all".³ Knox acknowledges that he is an eclectic,⁴ and to the Tractarians who regarded the early undivided Church as free from error, he occupied an arrogant position, in daring to criticise St.Augustine.⁵ The charge, however, is not

1. Life of Dr. Pusey, Dr.H.B.Liddon, Vol.I. p. 262.

2. Ibid. Vol.I. p. 261.

3. Ibid. Vol.I. p. 261. cf. Memoir of John Keble by Coleridge. p.242.

4. Remains, Vol. IV. p.147.

5. Ibid. Vol. IV. p.368, and Vol.III. p.69.

determined by a particular point of view. An impartial study of Knox and his writings proves beyond any shadow of doubt that the charge of arrogance cannot justly be levelled against him. He was a broad-minded High Churchman, who saw a value and a divine purpose wrought in and through Communions other than the one to which he belonged. The very fact that he was an eclectic thinker would re-act unfavourably upon the Tractarians, and there is no doubt that Dr. Pusey gives expression to the real reason why they did not make more use of him. Nevertheless there remains the fact that both had much in common, which cannot reasonably be treated lightly or easily overlooked.

Knox is mentioned by the Tractarians, but with an expression of surprise that he and Jebb had been in the field before them. J.H.Newman refers to Knox for the first time in a letter written to S.Rickards on February 9th, 1835, in which he compares him to Coleridge. "I suppose Knox is tempted to say what he says about schism from a wish to see what is good in everything. This he seems to be seeking in other cases; and it does not argue that he would, if interrogated, have defended what happens to have been over-ruled for good. Yet he is not to be excused altogether, certainly to judge from the little I have read of his letters. He is a remarkable instance of a man searching for and striking out the truth by himself. Could we see the scheme of things as angels see it, I fancy we should find he has a place in the growth and restoration of Church principles".¹ B.Harrison remarks in a letter to Newman

1. Letters and Correspondence of J.H.Newman, edited by
Anne Mozley, Vol. II. p. 93.

dated September 3rd, 1835, that Rose wants Knox's 'Remains' discussed in the Magazine, and adds: "Pusey read Knox very attentively, I know".¹ In his 'Lectures on Justification', Newman mentions Knox in the Preface, but asserts his independence of him,² and again in the Appendix he touches upon his teaching, but adds that he has little acquaintance with his works.³ Dealing with Mr. Faber's arguments against Knox on the subject of justification, he says: "How far they avail against that original and constructive writer, it falls to others to decide: they do not seem to militate against what has been maintained in these Lectures".⁴ J.H. Newman also quotes him with approval in his letter of explanation of Tract 90, to his Bishop, and speaks of him as one who "bears a most surprising witness"⁵ to the principles held by the Tractarians. And further his article in the 'British Critic' for April, 1839 on 'The State of Religious Parties', in which Newman embodied the views of other people to show how the Anglo-Catholic Movement had begun and made progress. Among them he refers to Knox as "a sagacious observer withdrawn from the world, and surveying its movements from a distance", who had said: "No Church on earth has more intrinsic excellence than the English Church, yet no Church probably has less practical influence.... The rich provision, made by the grace and providence of God, for habits of a noble kind, is evidence that men shall arise,

1. Letters and Correspondence of J.H. Newman, Vol. II. p. 133.

2. Lectures on Justification, J.H. Newman. Advertisement p. VII.

3. Ibid. Appendix. p. 424.

4. Ibid. Appendix. pp. 434.-435.

5. The Via Media, J.H. Newman. Vol. II. p. 372. (3rd edition)

fitted both by nature and ability, to discover for themselves, and to display to others, whatever yet remains undiscovered, whether in the words or works of God".¹ It is evident that Newman recognised the importance of Knox as a witness. He gives him an unreserved recognition, and describes his writings as "no slight evidence of the intellectual and moral movement under consideration. In this respect he outstrips Scott and Coleridge, that he realises his own position, and is an instance in rudiment of those great restorations which he foresaw in development".² He also mentions Knox in a letter to Father Coleridge dated 5th, August, 1868.³

It does not appear that Knox had any personal influence upon the Tractarians, and even Bishop Jebb's contact with them is only noticeable in two instances, that of W. Palmer and H. W. Wilberforce, during Jebb's visits to Oxford. The former says in a letter to Newman on 27th, October, 1833, "I wish you, and Froude, and Keble could have heard the Bishop of Limerick (Jebb) and Mr. Forster yesterday, talking of Church matters; it would have done your heart good".⁴ The latter gives his impression of Jebb on November 22nd, 1836, in a communication to Newman, and says that without being at all of the Oxford school, he has arrived at exactly the same conclusions through his study of Christian antiquity, and adds

1. *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, J.H. Newman. p.97 (new ed. 1895)
 cf. also *Essays Critical and Historical*, Vol. I. pp. 269-270.
 (article entitled *Prospects of the Anglican Church*.)
 2. *Essays Critical and Historical*, J.H. Newman, Vol. I. p. 271.
 3. *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 110.
 4. *Letters and Correspondence of J.H. Newman*, Vol. I. p. 470.
 (edited by Anne Mozley, 1891.)

"you must get to know him".¹ Newman noted on this in June, 1862, "I believe I never saw Jebb. I preserved one long letter of his of this year (1836). It was too systematic to extract from and too long to transcribe".

The available evidence in support of direct dependence is therefore scanty, still the historical importance of Knox and Jebb is not, on that account to be minimised. Movements do not arise out of nothing. There is always an Elijah preceding an Amos, however slight may appear to be the connection. Men are the product of their age, however much they may transcend it. Dean Inge says that George Fox was no isolated phenomenon; "he was a child of his age, though Penn was substantially right in saying that 'as a man, he was original, being no man's copy'".² Great intellects do not copy others, and therefore it is scarcely to be expected, quite apart from the evidence, that Newman was likely to be slavishly dependent upon Knox or Jebb, still this does not rule out the possibility of the unconscious influence of their teaching upon him and his associates. The 'British Critic' for January, 1835, speaks of a preparatory period to the Anglican Renaissance at the conclusion of a review on the "Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox". The writer, having quoted a passage from one of Knox's letters, dated 1813, in which Knox considers that the Church of England holds an intermediate station,³ says: "Since that time a process has been going on, which, if not

1. Letters and Correspondence of J.H.Newman, Vol.II.p.216.ed. by Anne Mozley. (1891).

2. The Church in the World, Dean Inge. p. 62.

3. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.II.pp. 122-3.

precisely analogous to incubation, may perhaps be likened to that artificial mode of hatching, which is said to be practised among the Egyptians. An oven has been gradually heated by the joint good offices of a most miscellaneous company, though not, it is true, for the purpose of bringing the Church to maturity of life, and yet we have good hopes that, in spite of the designs with which it has been prepared, it will be found, in a certain measure, to have done the work which was contemplated by Alexander Knox".

The ground had been prepared for the publication of the Tracts for the Times, and much of this must be attributed to the teaching of Knox and Jebb. The channels along which their influence flowed may be briefly enumerated as follows;- (1) Young divines met Knox at the La Touches of Bellevue. It was at their home that the Right.Rev. Robert Daly made his acquaintance with Knox, when he was about seventeen years of age, and many other "educated and pious people, frequently paid lengthened visits to Bellevue".¹ Professor G.F.Stokes supplies an interesting piece of information, which he claims had not previously appeared in print. He says that there was a very considerable intercourse between Dublin and Oxford during the years 1826-1827, and that two young Oxford men went over to Ireland as private tutors, viz. Mr. F.W.Newman was taken over by Chief Justice Pennefather, and Mr Jacobson,² afterwards Bishop of Chester, was engaged by the La Touches of Bellevue. He states that Jacobson used to tell of the

1. Memoir of Rt.Rev.Robert Daly, Mrs Hamilton Madden, p.33.

2. Knox mentions Jacobson in a letter to Jebb, cf. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol.II.p.561.

profound reverence he felt for Knox, before he met him, and concludes that if Knox's reputation as a teacher of ancient Church doctrine was well known to a young student like Jacobson, it must have been known to divines like Keble and J.H.Newman.¹ The conclusion may be challenged for want of more definite evidence, but it is, at least, a plausible one. (2) Knox paid periodical visits to England during the ten years, from 1799 to 1809, when he established contact with several influential people, some of whom became his devoted friends and admirers. He was accompanied in 1809 by Jebb, whom he requested to take with him a selection of sermons. This first visit by Jebb was followed up by several others, during which he visited many places, including Oxford and Cambridge, London and Bristol, and added a long list to the number of his friends and acquaintances. He met prelates and clergy of the High Church and Evangelical parties. Whilst at Oxford he received hospitality from Mr. Ogilvie, and Dr. Jenkyns, the Master of Balliol, and found in a junior tutor of Balliol in 1820, a regard amounting to veneration for Knox.² He was the guest of Archdeacon Churton in 1826, whose youngest son was a Fellow of Oriel. Knox was therefore known at Oxford, and it may be recalled in this connection, that John Keble said that Knox did great service with his work on the Eucharist, which was published in 1824. (3) Knox contributed articles to English Periodicals. He published a number of pamphlets, and several

1. Reply to R.W.Church by Prof.G.F.Stokes, cf. Guardian for September 14th., 1887.

2. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox, Vol.II. p. 425.

of his letters to friends in England were passed on to others, who having had a taste of them thirsted for more. Jebb thought it most desirable to have copies made of his whole collection, and have them circulated.¹ (4) The publication in 1815 of Jebb's sermons was welcomed, particularly the famous Appendix; which was mentioned with approval by the Bishop of Bristol in his book on Tertullian.² The Appendix was republished with other pamphlets in 1839, and bears the title, "A Tract for all Times, but most eminently for the present peculiar character of the Church of England, as distinguished both from other branches of the Reformation, and from the modern Church of Rome". It was written by Jebb before he was raised to the bench of Bishops, but it is clearly an expression of Knox's views. In fact Jebb refers to it in a letter to Knox as "our Appendix".³ It contains their most systematic conception of the Church, and as Overton quite rightly says, it "might really almost have appeared as one of the Tracts for the Times".⁴ The publication of this volume was a means of touching a wider circle, and just as Jebb was in demand as a preacher during his visits to England, so his published Sermons were preached by others in English Churches.⁵ (5) The publication in London of the Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb and Knox in 1834 (2 vols.), and that of Knox's Remains, the first two volumes in the same year (2nd.edition,1836); the third and

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol.II.p.425.

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 539.

3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 229.

4. The Anglican Revival, J.H.Overton.p.18. (1897).

5. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol.II. p.343

fourth in 1837, and reaching its third edition in 1844,¹ is a clear indication of the widespread interest and attention given to Knox during the early period of the Oxford Movement. Mr. Gladstone acknowledged his indebtedness to the works of Knox. Writing in later years of his own religious development, he says: "I found food for the new ideas and tendencies in various quarters, not least in the religious writings of Alexander Knox, all of which I perused".² The Discourses of Jebb are quoted in Tracts for the Times, Nos. 74 and 76, and strangely enough, whilst Tract No. 78 has a quotation from the Life of Bishop Jebb, in which he alludes to the English divines as having favoured the Vincentian Rule,³ they seemed to overlook the fact that Jebb was the mouthpiece of Knox.

The Tractarians do not seem to be conscious of owing much to Knox; the branch of the Movement represented by Keble, cultivated a dislike for him as we have seen, because of his eclecticism; Newman quite frankly gives him unreserved recognition as a pioneer, but asserts his independence of him, although it seems probable that W. Palmer received strong influence from Jebb. There is no doubt, however, that Knox and Jebb played no mean part in the preparatory period to the Oxford Movement. That they won over the sympathy of many, who at first were suspicious, if not averse, to their ideas, is testified by Jebb in a letter written to Knox from Bristol in

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1. Rev. R. E. Ker, Edgehill College, Belfast quotes from the 3rd. edition of the 'Remains', in an article contributed to the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, September, 1936.
 2. Life of W. E. Gladstone, John Morley, Vol. I. p. 161.
 3. Life of John Jebb, Charles Forster, Vol. II. pp. 249-252.

1817: "It is literally true", he says, "that the good people here thirst after your society; and Mr. S-- assures us, that, in England, you would find many, who, in past years, were rather jealous of you, and of your ways of thinking, now cordially disposed to listen and improve".¹ Jebb was informed, much to his gratification, that he had rendered a useful service to English bishops and clergy,² and he rejoiced to find the growth of a "moderate spirit, both in High Churchmen, and the better kind of Evangelicals".³ The breaking down of the wall of partition between these two parties had been the steady and systematic endeavour of Knox. He clearly saw the value in both, and that neither was complete without the other, and he strove with much patience to win others to his way of thinking. The fusion of these two ideas alone demands for him a place in the development of theology in the English Church. It is not always an easy task to trace the filtration of ideas, but the fact that Knox was known at Oxford in 1820, points to a close relationship with the early Tractarians. Finally Jebb's "Appendix" with its clearly developed theory of the Anglican Church, puts the question beyond doubt that these two Irishmen occupy an important place as the real pioneers of the Oxford Movement.

1. Thirty Years' Correspondence between Jebb & Knox, Vol. II, p. 332.
 2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 495.
 3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 539.

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